THE HISTORY OF MEWAR

(FROM SANGA TO UDAI SINGH)

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PH. D.

BY

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WRITTEN UNDER THE GUIDANCE

OF

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A P O L O G Y.

The writer of the thesis in hand greatly regrets and sincerely apologizes for the typographical errors in its present text. The sending of the chapters outside Vallabh Vidyanagar for typing was, as if, an invitation to the typists to introduce errors not only due to their misreading of the manuscript but also because of their voluntary anxiety to improve what they believed to be mistakes in the text. Their ignorance of the names of personages, places and books and also of the conventional marks (cf., ibid., viz., etc.,) has also been in no small measure an extra-contributory agency in supplying errors. Many of them would have remained uncorrected, inspite of all the efforts.

Kindly over-look, excuse and oblige.

Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari

INTRODUCTION.

The study of the history of Mewar during the mediaeval period consists of two parts: (i) the collection of the original material and (ii) its interpretation. Quite a lot of work on this subject is done since Col. Tod presented a history of Mewar as traditionally known when he wrote. As the bibliography attached to this thesis demonstrates, the vastness of the material and its inaccessilbility made it impossible for himself and all the subsequent writers to utilize it in its entirety. Laudable though their efforts are, their versions of the history of Mewar for the period treated in this thesis suffer from their ignorance of some of the basic material which I have been fortunate enough to discover. My good fortune largely arose on account of the changed political condition of the country and a new attitude towards historical studies arising therefrom.

* * * * *

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CHAPTER I.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF MEWAR.

The State of Mewar in the days under our study included Ajmer in the north, Godwad (later on lost to Marwar) in the West, and touched Marwar in the west, Dungarpur and Banswara in the south, Deolia (later on Pratapgadh State in the Central India Agency) in the south-east, Hadaṅti in the north west, touched the southern borders of Gwalior in the north-west, and the then territories of Malwa in the east and the south-east. But this huge area comprising almost the whole of Rajputana was not directly under the rule of the Rana's of Chittor. Sirohi, Dungarpur and Bans--wara, etc., were the vassal states of Mewar, which obeyed the Rana, if strong, and broke away, whenever they could. However, the area between Mandsaur to Ajmer and Chhappan and Girwa to the western borders of Hadaṅti including Godwad was directly under the Ranas. So this portion should be called the real Mewar and its geography be properly studied to make out clearly the impact of the geographical characteristics upon its history.

The geographical features of this region are very intricate and at the same time very interesting. The Aravalli range between Udaipur and Bari Sadari passes approximately through the south-west of this region. They proceed from Nimach in the east

through Badi Sadari, Udaipur and Gogunda to Kumbhalgadh and Ajmer. The plateau on whose centre stands the town of Ajmer and the fort of Taragadh is the highest point in the plain of Hindustan. The Aravallis ranges which assumed quite a considerable height near Ajmer, form themselves here into several parallel ranges. The city of Ajmer stands at the foot of the fort of Taragadh, which is well watered and almost impregnable. The position of Taragadh is strong, central and picturesque. Ajmer commands central and strategic position in Rajputana, and its possession in a way symbolizes the predominence in this region. It is also the northern gate of Mewar.

From Ajmer the Aravallis spreads into several prongs till it reaches the basins of the rivers Soma and Mahi, and joins the Vindhyas near the basin of the river Jakum in the south-each. So all the water of the southern Mewar flows through Jakum and Soma to the Bay of Khambhat via river Mahi, River Soma has slope of 40 ft. in a mile[1] Between Bansi and Dhariyawad the slope is 50 ft. to a mile[2] The slopes and the com-plicated curves of the hills render communication facilities difficult in this region[3]. Towards the south this range rises to greater heights and its valleys reach greater dept. On the other side of the river Soma there are plains suitable for agriculture and habita-tion. This southern part of Mewar is called "Chhapan".

The entire western mountainous portion from Dungarpur in the south to Sirohi and Marwar in the

east is called "Magara" (i.e., Hilly Tract) wherein the ranges of Aravallis have registered its widest breadth of 60 miles. Its highest peak at Jaraga, 15 miles from Gogunda in the north, is 4315, ft. above the sea level. Besides its military utility, this region by its rich and abundant rice crops, acts as the grainary of Mewar.

Gogunda, situated on this range at the height of 2750 ft. above the sea level at the distance of 16 miles N.W. of Udaipur, sends mountain ranges to Udaipur which is 1957 ft. above the sea level. These ranges travel together to Dhebar (Jaisamudra) where their height is reduced to 960 ft. above the sea level and then they find their way to the basin of R.Soma where their height is barely 650 ft. above the sea level. Thus from Gogunda to Soma, the height is reduced by 2100 ft. in 65 miles, which comes to the average of 32 ft. a mile. The importance of the region comprising Chhappan and Magara cannot be over esti--mated. Apart from offering excellent facilities for defence through its mountains it affers the silver mines at Javar, gives the native wild Bhils for army, supplies rice and other cerals for food, and feeds the armies with its fruit - mango - in the times of emergency.[4] All the old religious places of Mewar[5] are also located in this part of the country.

In the south upto Khairwara (1000 ft. above the

sea level) these ranges register the slope of 33 ft. a mile by losing 1750 ft. in 53 miles; and from Kotada to Kaira in the south-west the slope is 35 ft. in a mile. At Virawada in Sirshi (1235 ft. above the sea level and 33 miles north west of Gogunda) the height is reduced by 1525 ft. i.e., 46 ft. in a mile, while at Beda (28 miles from Gogunda in Godwad at the height of 1115 ft. above the sea level) the slope is 58 ft per mile through the loss of 1635 ft. in 28 miles. Hence this border region between Mewar and Marwar, but for some passes, worked as an invul-nerable but-work of defence. This left no choice with the Ranas but to migrate to the region between Khamnor and Chappan in the times of distress;[6] and if Marwar lay on their side, they could fix their headquarters between Khamnor and Kumbhalgadh,[7] an area which though capped with the strong fort of Kumbhal-gadh, was otherwise militarily unsuitable for defence because of the steep slopes in Marwar.[8] The fort of Kumbhalgadh was meant to act only as a watchdog on Godwad[9] and never ~~intended~~ to help the defences of Mewar against the invaders.

To the east of Chittor a series of parallel hills run north and south. Their two highest points are 2000 ft. above the sea level. In a valley formed by these ranges Vijaynagar is perched. All the water in the north of Chittor flows into Bedach, and in the

south of Chittor into Gambhiri, which after a western course around the fort of Chittor bends eastwards for emptying itself into the former. On the eastern border of Mewar is a cluster of hills which, after providing a seat for the fort of Mandalgadh, proceed upto central Bundi. This area is locally known as Uparmal and is comprised of Bijolia and Mandalgadh district. Wheat is produced here without any artificial irrigation. In the north-east a range runs upto Jahajpur, the position of which for Mewar is akin to that of Chunar for Bengal. This area is called "Khairad".

The region in the west of Chittor is open with the exception of a sprinkling of hill-locks which in their south-western journey attain some height and get covered by jungles. In the west of these ranges is Bhadesar (20 miles from Chittor) to the south of which spreads out a plain intercepted at times by low hills. A high and intricate range of the Vindhyas springs from Badi Sadari and travels south-east to terminate at Jakum. It acts as a western border of a broad and dense jungle area. Its average height never exceeds 1250 ft. above the sea level. However, the height increases towards the north and remains characterized by the absence of slopes. This range is lost in the east and is desultory in the west.

To sum up, starting from Ajmer, the Aravalli range reaches out to Diver via Marwar where its height is 2383 ft. above the sea level, and after travelling along the borders of Marwar it attains the eminence of 3568 ft. above the sea level at Kumbhalgadh and 4315 ft. above the sea level at Jaraga. The Aravalli extends all over the south--western and the southern parts of Mewar where it records its maximum width of 60 miles. Ultimately it terminates at some point about the south of 24° latitude. Here parallel ranges running westwards and north-eastwards with an inclination towards the south emerge which press on towards the south-east to get separated and lost. There is almost an undisturbed plain running north to south from Ajmer to Dhar which reaches out to Doab through a passage between Hadauti and Ranthambhor. It leaves Ranthambhor in the north and Bundi in the south. It is bordered by Girwa in the west, Chhappan in the south, Hadauti ranges in the east and the Aravalli ranges at Ajmer in the north. Watered by the rivers Gambhiri, Bedach and Ahad this plain is the most fertile part of Mewar.

<u>Passes</u> :-

These ranges admit several passes in their courses. One of them is Desri Ki Nal near Char- - bhuja and 10 miles from Kelwa. It is a narrow

difficult passage of 4 miles which connects with Desuri in Marwar. Some miles north of Desuri is Someswaraki Nal, which being tedious and long, remains mostly out of use. 5 miles south of Desuri in the north of Kelwara is Hathiguda Ki Nal which is commanded by the fort of Kumbhalgadh on the top of the hill. The first three miles of this pass are steep but the remaining portion is cartable. Another pass called Bhanapuraki Nal is six miles from Ghanerao. The southern ranges admit of only two passes. One of them, 14 miles from Udaipur, leads to Banswara via Dhariyawad by travelling along Bansi. The other connects Udaipur to Dungarpur via Salumber. There is also a passage between Salumber and Dhariyawad.

Rivers :-

R.Chambal flows only for a few miles in Mewar through the eastern territories near Bhainsrodgadh where it is joined by Bamani. River Banas rises from a place three miles south-west of Kumbhalner and after a journey of 15 miles along the range of Jaraga in the south-west, it takes a sudden turn to the east, where after a journey of 5-6 miles along the ~~range of~~ southern reaches of this range it enters into the plains near Nathdwara in the north--east and ultimately makes for Mandalgadh to join Bedach and Menal at Triveni. In its northward course Kothari emptico into it, wherefrom after travelling

along the western ranges of Jahajpur hills in its north-eastern journey, it leaves Mewar at Devali to pour its water into Chambal.

Another river Khari rises from the hills of Diver and after a north-eastern course empties into Banas near Deoli , after a total journey of 115 miles. Its tributory Manasi, after a parallel route of 60 miles in south, joins it at Phulia near Ajmer. Similarly, two small rivers, after rising from Baneda empty themselves into it at Savar after a journey of 40 miles. The river Kothari (originally Kethasari) originates in the Aravallis, and after a course of 95 miles to the south of Diver joins Banas just two miles above Nandarai.Bedach springs from the western hills of Udaipur, falls into Udai Sagar lake under the name of Ahad, and again while emerging as an outlet of this lake, receives the name of Bedoch when it travels eastwards. It reaches Chittar wherefrom after a northward journey with ~~abou~~ a bent towards north-east, it falls into Banas near Mandalgadh.

River Jakum rising near Chhoti Sadari in south-west of Mewar runs into Pratapgadh to receive River Karmari, after which it returns to Mewar near Dhariyawad and falls into Soma. All the water of South-western Mewar (now-a-days collected into Jaisamudra) in the past flew into Soma and after a

southern course into Mahi. It is worth noting in this connection that except Chambala, all the above-mentioned rivers flow in mansoon months and remain dry in summer.

Artificial Lakes:-

Udai Sagar, six miles east of Udaipur, is two miles and a half long and two miles wide. It collects water from an area 179 miles in extent. It encloses this water in a dam (completed in 1566 A.D) built in a mountain-pass by Rana Udai Singh about two miles from Debari. Another lake Pichola, on the borders of the present city of Udaipur, is two miles and a half long and a mile and a half wide. The water it traps was formerly borne away by R. Ahad. Its dam is 1002 feet in length. Tradition attributes its authorship to a Banjara in the reign of Rana Lakha. Its first historical reference occurs in connection with Rana Sanga's repairs to the damage caused to it by flood in 1518 A.D.

Minerals and Stones :-

Silver mines were worked at Javar (18 miles south of Udaipur). Gunpali (in Mandalgadh), Manoharpur (in Jahajpur), Gangar, Sadari, Hammir--gadh, Amargadh and Parsola yielded iron which was purified with the help of salt. In the - southern hills at Bedawal and Anjeni also iron mines were worked. Delwada, Kevada pass and in the

Western hills copper was extracted. Lead mines were worked at Javar, Polalan and Dariba.

Granite is found on the slopes of heavy rocks. In the middle valleys quartz, gneiss and syenita rocks are usually found. Hornstone porphyry is found in Khairawara. Mica is abundant near Javar and granite near Udaipur. Blue and red marbs are found near Javar and Khairwara. Dolarite and basalt slabs are strewn near Udaipur and are used for house construction. Schist stone is mostly found in Merwara and Khairad. Garnet ("Tambhadiya" as it is called locally) is found and extracted in Mandal, Pur, Dariba and Bhilwara.

Jungles and Wood:-

The Aravallis are wrapped with bamboo and other short statured trees. The region between Dhari--yawad and Bansi yields the valuable wood known locally as "Sagavan". In the valley Mahuwa and mangoes grow in abundance. The Magara region is specially famous for the abundance of mangoes.

Communication :-

Due to the pausity of suitable passes very few routes connected Mewar with the outside world in the past. From Agra one could reach Chittor from the east through the plain between Hadauti and Ranthambhor by crossing the river Banas near Mandalgadh at Kachhola. A force taking this route had

had not to face any serious obstruction anywhere except Mandalgadh and if the Ranas did not choose to oppose here, the enemy could reach straight to Chittor.[10] Chittor could also be gained from Agra through the plains of Jaipur by passing through the bottle-neck of Ajmer. From Ajmer the route to Mandu via Chittor lies open with Mandal on the way.[11] A route runs between Ajmer and Gogunda Via Badnor, Mohi, and Haldighati which ultimately leads to Udaipur.[12] One could take the plain as well and reach Khamnor via Huzda, Mandal, Pur and Kapasan.[13] From Udaipur a direct route leads to Abu via Gogunda in Mewar and Raheda in Sirohi.[14] Chittor was connected with Ahmedabad through Khirchi Pass, which was commanded by the fort of Mandsaur. After conquering Mandasan and gaining Jiram and army from Gujrat could proceed to either Chittor via Neemuch[15] or Udaipur via Badi & Sadari and Maholi. The Sultans of Malwa had the option of either attacking Chittor through the Ajmer-Mandu plain dominated by Mandsaur[16] or penetrating in the northern and western portions of Mewar upto Eklingji and Kumbhalgadh from Raisin and other notthern districts through the passage between Hadauti and Ranthambhor. The rulers of Marwar could force themselves into Mewar by reaching out to either Kumbhalgadh through Desuri-ki-Mal[17] or Badnor

via Ajmer or Beawar.[18]

Distances of different places by the old routes:-

Chittor was 58 miles from Udaipur; Sajat 80 miles, Kumbhalgadh 40 miles, Ahmedabad 160 miles, Sadari 70 miles, Idar 90 miles, Dungarpur 60 miles, Devalia 80 miles, Mandsaur 104 miles, Jojawar 70 miles, Nimuch 80 miles, Kapasan 40 miles, Tana 40 miles, Mohi 34 miles, Jodhapur 134 miles, Jhalor 100 miles, Malpura 120 miles, Ajmer 130 miles, Badnor 90 miles, Banswada 60 miles, Ujjain 180 miles, Mandalgadh 90 miles, Karheda 70 miles, Gogunda 16 miles, Untala 22 miles[19] and Rampura 100 miles from Udaipur.[20]

Badnor was 70 miles, Banswada 100 miles, Ketharia 48 miles, Mandsaur 54 miles, Phulia 50 miles, Ujjain 120 miles, Mandalgadh 34 miles, Merta 134 miles, Begu 30 miles, Mandal 34 miles, Idar 140 miles, Devalia 60 miles, Nimuch 30 miles, Malpura 114 miles and Sirawada 108 miles from Chittor.[21]

Means of Transportation:-

Roads were the chief means of communication but they were never repaired. The mountain passes were never widened and the impediments on their floor were left mostly uncleared. Bullocks, he-buffaloes, ponies, horses and camels were the chief beasts of burden. They were either tied to some vehicle or carried alone with luggage on their backs. One

1

Plain Opposite Surajpol, Chittor

2

Fort of Chittor

3

Interior of Chittor Fort

To face page 13

bullock could carry 10 "mans".[22] Banjaras were the chief monopolists of the trade of transportation. Many Banjaras could keep a flock of a hundred thou--sand animals for transport service. Such rich ones manytimes built ~~the~~ tanks on the routes commonly used by them.[23] Many cenetophs on the side and some on bill-tops are ~~told~~ said to be built by these Banjaras to commemorate the memory of their dear animals of burden.

The Capitals of Mewar:-

For the major portion of the period under our study Chittor was the capital of Mewar. Perched on an entablature bordered on two sides by plains and by R. Bedach and Gambhirs on the remaining two sides, the fort of Chittor (24.54^{8}N. 74.42^{1}E) commands the plain which connects Ajmer to Mandu. It had been the capital of Mewar since the days of Bappa Rawal and had been an object of great veneration amongst the Sisodias. However, its position on an isolated mountain plateau makes its defence difficult. During the days of gun-powder warfare this fort had became an ideal place for losing a battle to a determined enemy who could batter down the walls of the fort by cannons.[24] On other way also, if an enemy sat down with determination to besiege the fort, only by a tight blocade he could starve the garrison into either surrender[25] or death[26]. Any serious attempt to defend

this fort had always been a death-warrant for the garrison.

Udai Singh realized the military unsuitability of Chittor and changed his capital to Udaipur - (23°-31' N. 91°- 31' E.)in the heart of the Girwa region. However, it also could not be the war-time capital of Mewar. The waves of mountains which surround the city of Udaipur are well-suited for protecting the flanks in retreat and for covering the movements of the army for strategical manseuvres. But these advantages are counter-balanced by the impossibility of its fortification. The ranges which could cover the movements of the armies refused the facilities of the construction of a well-defended fort. The only defence which Udaipur could enjoy was a wall around the city built by Karan Singh and a gate in the pass between two mountains at Dehari in the days of Raj Singh. It could not be converted into a fort. So at the approach of the enemy it had to be deserted. Udai Singh knew it, possibly. So he had his headquarters in Gogunda region during and after the siege of Chittor by Akbar.

Conclusion :-

To sum up, but for some passes and the central plain, the country of Mewar is almost walled by high mountains on almost all the sides. This limited its contact with the outside world and permitted its

people to carry on the alchemy on their moral and cultural development undisturbed by any outside influence. A strange moral personality, character-ized by love of freedom and conservatism, was its result. Its population, whether high born or the otherwise, developed a unique pride which refused to bow before anyone else than the Rana. Conservatism kept its traditions unaffected from the teeth of time, ultimately making for an ardent devotion to everything ancient both in religion and ideals. Hence, Mewar continued to struggle fearlessly for centuries for her political independence, and in a way also for the Hindu ideals. It struggled against heavy odds for the purity of the blood of its royal house and the dignity of its ruler. And ultimately when Mewar had to submit to the Mughals, it did so only after stipulating for the preservation of the purity of the royal blood and the maintenance of the dignity of the crownhead.

FOOTNOTES

(1) It has the slope of 950 ft. in 25 miles.

(2) It has lost 850 ft. in 17 miles.

(3) Only once did the Mughals succeed in forcing themselves into this region and it compelled Rana Amar Singh to submit.

(4) cf. The soldiers of Man Singh lived on these mangoes during their stay at Gogunda after the Battle of Khamnor.

(5) They are Rshabhadeoji, Eklingji, Nathdwara, Kankaroli, Charbhuja, and Rupanarayanji.

(6) Maharana Udai Singh had chosen Gogunda, and Pratap Singh and Amar Singh, Chavanda, during their struggle with the Mughals.

(7) cf. Maharana Raj Singh's activities against Aurangzeb in colloboration with the Rathors of Marwar under Durgadas.

(8) cf. The sad plight of Maharana Pratap when he permitted himself to be besieged in the fort of Kumbhalner by Shah Baz Khan Khambhu in 1578 A.D. (Akbar Nama III/340) which ultimately culminated in the flight of Pratap from the fort before its fall (Al Badaoni II/275) in the guise of a recluse (Ain-i Akbari I/400).

(9) The fort of Kumbhalner was built by Maharana Kumbha after his conquest of Godwad to watch over his newly acquired territory.

(10) This route was taken by Akbar during his first invasion of Mewar.

(11) This route was followed by Sher Shah in 1544 A.D.

(12) cf. Akabar's route in 1577 A.D.

(13) This route was followed by Man Singh for reaching the battle-field of Haldighati in 1576 A.D.

(14) Possibly it was this route which Prithviraj Raimalot Sisodia took to fall suddenly upon Raja Mandlik of Abu to rescue his (Prithvirāj's) sister Ramabai from the tyranny of her husband (Raja Mandalik).

(15) Sultan Bahadur Shah took this route to attack Chittor.

(16) cf. The route taken by Sultan Mahmud II of Mandu for going to the aid of Malik Ayaz Gujarati in 1520 A.D.

(17) cf. The attack on Kumbhalner by Rao Maldeo in ~~1552~~ 1558 A.D.

(18) cf. The conquest of Badnor by Devidas Jaitawat in 1559 A.D.

(19) Muhnot Nensi ki Khyat (Ramnarayan Duggad Tr.), I/3

(20) ibid, I/6

(21) ibid, I/3-4

(22) cf. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Hussain Tr.), p.146

(23) The Pichhola tank in Udaipur and a tank near Dhokalia (10 miles west of the present city of Bhilwara) are said to have been built by the Banjaras.

(24) cf. Mirat-i Sikandari (Faridi Tr.),p.179

(25) cf. The treaty of Karmeti with Bahadur Shah (1533 A.D.)

(26) cf. The three Sakas of Chittor at the time of the attacks of Alauddin Khilji (1303 A.D.), Bahadur Shah (1535 A.D.) and Akbar (1568 A.D.).

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF MEWAR FROM BAPA

Bapa, the founder of the State of Mewar, was a Brahmin by birth[1] but later on he converted himself to the Kshtriya fold[2]. He in his early days was a deciple of Harita Rashi[3], a Pashupat saint[4] and a worshipper of Ekling Mahadeo[5] at Nagahrid[6]. By the encouragement[7] and blessings of his spiritual preceptor[8] Bapa, after establishing his authority in the region adjoining Nagahrid[9], captured the fort of Chittor[10] from Man Mori[11] (s/o Raja Bhim Mori[12]) in cir. 734 A.D.[13] This enabled him to assume the title of Rawal[14]. Next, he defeated the neighbouring chieftains and strengthened their political submission through matrimonies[15]. He retired from political life by relinquishing the sceptre in 753 A.D.[16] to his son, Khuman[17]. The traditions which hold that Bapa[18] and Khuman[19] opposed the Muslim invaders on the borders of Sindh should not be accepted without a pinch of salt. Khuman's descendant Baladitya is said to have performed an Ashwamedh Sacrifice.[20] About two centuries after Bapa came Allat, who is reported to have defeated a Hun ruler Krishtu[21]. Shakti Kumar, the fifth in descent from Alu (Allat), lost Chittor to Munja Parmar of Malwa[22]. Bhoj, the successor of Munja, also ruled at Chittor and is reported to have stayed there for some time[23]. Siddharaj Solanki of Gujarat defeated the Parmars of Malwa after a protracted warfare of 12 years and snatched away Chittor from his adversaries[24]. The Solanki rule over Chittor came to an end when Rawal

Savant Singh defeated Ajaypal Solanki[25] in 1174 A.D.[26]. However, Chittor was soon lost to Kirtipal Chauhan of Jhalor[27]. Meanwhile Savant Singh, who was unpopular with the nobles,[28] quitted Mewar to found a new dynasty in Wagad.[29] His brother and successor Kumar Singh expelled Kirtipal (Kitu) from Mewar and recovered the fort with the help of the king of Gujarat[30].

From the Kartikaswami Temple inscription we know that Rawal Vijay Simha was ruling in Mewar about 1116 A.D.[31] His fourth descendant was Rana Simha or Karan Simha. Karran Simha's second son, Rahap, attacked Mandowar[32], defeated and captured Mokalsi, and presented the captive before his father[33]. The Rana deprived Mokalsi of his title of the "Rana"[34], which he bestowed upon Rahap.[35] Rahap's descendants in contradistinction to the elder branch whose head was called "Rawal", called the head of their family "Rana". Because of their stay at Sisoda, Rahap's descendants are also called Sisodias[36]. The eldest son of Rawal Simha - Kshemakaran - ascended the throne at Allatpur. His son Savant Simmha defeated Ajaypal Solanki and later on migrated to Wagad.

In 1303 A.D. Alauddin Khilji attacked and captured Chittor[37] in the defence of which Rawal Ratansimha died fighting[38]. Alauddin christened Chittor as Khizrabad[39] after his eldest son Khizr Khan, whom he left in Chittor as his deputy[40]. The fort of Chittor was in the hands of the Tughlaqs as an inscription of Malik Asuddin, a nephew of Sultan Ghiyasuddin suggests[41]. It was held on their behalf by Maldeo Sonigara[42]. During these days Ari Simha,

the successor of Ratan Simha from Rahap's line, ruled over the tract between the Vindhya ranges and Mewar[43]. Hammir, his successor, established himself in Chirwa[44] and Kelwa[45]. He expelled Maldeo Sonigara from Chittor in 1325 A.D.[46] It is reported that he also defeqted Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq when the latter made war on Hammir to recover Chittor[47]. These victories spread the fame of Hammir upto the borders of Karnartak.[48] He repaired the temple of Eklingji[49], built several palaces and tanks[50], one of the tanks ~~beng~~ being the famous Gangodbhava in Chittor fort[51]. Tradition attributes him with the authorship of the Rupanarayan temple at Savantri. He was god-fearing, charitable, chivalrous[52], brave, handsome and a generous ~~ruler~~ to the fallen foes[53]. He was, possibly, an accomplished vocal musician also[54]. His rule lasted for 64 yrs 7 months and 1 day[55].

Hammir's successor Khema Simha brought the Hadas of Bundi and Mandalgadh under his control[56] and extended his sovereignty over the adjoining rulers[57]. He defeated Ami Shah[58] alias Dilawar Khan Ghori of Malwa[59] and plundered his territories[60]. Muzaffar Shah Gujarati was also defeated by the Rana[61]. It is further claimed that he captured Ranmal of Idar and gave the throne of Idar to the captive's son[62]. These victories made Khema a terror to the Muslim rulers of the adjoining states[63] and earned for him the title of "The Vanquisher of Kings and Conqueror of Forts"[64]. He was reputed for being an adept in Astanga Vidya[65]. He was religious, valient, devoted to God Ram, very skilful in the use of arms, handsome, charitable and

far-famed[66]. In his old age he retired from the political life by handing over the kingdom to his son Lakha[67]. Lakha continued the policy of his father in waging relentless war on the Muslims and made himself bold to attack Gaya which he succeeded in emancipating from the Muslim domination[68]. He defeated Gopaldas (Gogadeo) of Malwa[69] and conquered some portion of Godwad near Desuri[70]. Several other adjoining chieftains were also vanquished[71]. Lakha, we are told, was deft in the wielding of arms, pure hearted, protector of refugees and praised even by his enemies for his bravery[72]. He collected a sort of pilgrim-tax at Gaya and the proceeds were utilized in the reconstruction of dilapidated ancient religious sites[73]. He distinguished himself as the helper of Hindus against the Muslims[74]. Tradition holds that in retaliation to the iconoclastism of the Muslims he destroyed mosques upto Idar and substituted temples in their places[75]. It is said that he won his enemies by diplomacy, love and war[76]. He gifted lakhs in charity[77], and gave several times his weight in gold to the Brahmins[78]. He was the premier prince in Rajputana in those days[79]. About 1406 A.D.[80] he married Hansbai, the sister of Ranmal Rathor, the exiled prince of Mandowar[81]. Chunda, Lakha's eldest son had to swear[82] and give up in writing[83] his own and his successor's right to succession to the throne of Mewar in favour of the male issue of this marriage[84], as desired by the brother of this lady[85]. So Lakha was succeeded by Mokal, the fruit of this union, in 1413 A.D.[86] Chunda received a handsome jagir and a high appreciation from his father[87].

Mokal was 5 years old at the time of the death of Lakha. Ranmal Rathor, his maternal uncle and de facto guardian, killed Moiduddin Firuz Khan Gujarati (s/o Firuz Khan) during his war on Shamskhan Nagori in 1413-14 A.D.[88] Shams Khan Dandani's successor Firuz Khan, the conqueror of Shambhar[89], had a bitter taste of defeat at the hands of the young Rana[90]. Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat made repeated raids on Mewar in 1432 A.D. but failed in obtaining any permanent gain[91]. In one of these raids Kelwara and Delwara were raided and their temples were demolished[92]. Just before his death Mokal defeated Sultan Muhammad Shah, the successor of Ahmad Shah[93]. Mokal is credited with the conquest of Jahajpur and victory over the ruler of Dabhoi which is alleged he burnt down[94]. It is further claimed that his name caused nightmares to the rulers of Jhalor, Delhi and Sambhar[95]. He built many palaces[96], repaired Mani Toran and the temple of Samidheswar Mahadeo in Chittor[97], placed a new idol in the latter,[98] and gave his weight in gold[99]. He constructed four tanks[100] and earned a wide fame for his charity[101] and philanthropy[102]. He made a pilgrimage to Dwarka and Sankhodhar[103] and repaired the temple of Dwarkesh[104]. He also built an the enclosure of the temple of Eklingji and placed three gates in it[105]. He was killed by Chacha and Mera, two natural sons of Rana Lakha[106]. Ranmal Rathor avenged his blood by killing the regicides[107] and placed Kumbhakarna, the son of Mokal, on the throne[108].

Kumbhakarna alias Kumbha was one of the most noted rulers of Mewar. In the early years of his reign the Rathors under Ranmal became very powerful. There was a

genuine fear of Mewar being usurped by them[109]. So Kumbha got Ranmal assassinated[110] on Sunday, July 29,1436 A.D.[111], along with Satta s/o Lunkaran Bhati[112]. According to inscriptions, Kumbha captured Yogipur[113] (i.e., Javar), Mandowar[114] and Yagpur[115]. He attacked and enslaved the female population of Naradpuri[116] (i.e., Nadol) and Hammirpur[117], and ~~es~~ destroyed Dharyanagar[118], Mallaranyapur[119] (i.e., Mallargadh ~~Mahkargadh~~), Simhapuri[119], Ratnapur[119], Gopurdurg[120] (i.e., Gwalior), Khatapur[120], Vrindawati[120] (i.e., Gagarun), Mandalkaran[120] (i.e., Mandalgadh), Visalnagar[120], Giripur[121] and Abu[122]. Raja Gopaldas of Malwa fled away before his arms[123]. He built a the fort of Kumbhalgadh[124] to keep a watch on Godwad. He captured and released Mahmud[125], looted and burnt down Sarangpur[126], attacked Nagor[127] and defeated the combined forces of Shams Khan Nagori, s/o Firuz Khan Dandani, and Sultan Qutubuddin Gujarati[128]. For the whole of his life he fought with the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat and defeated them separately and sometimes together as well[129]. He struck such a fear in the heart of the rulers of Gujarat that Mahmud Begada, a noted bigot, thought it wise to refrain from breaking lance with him[129a]. He compelled Raymal, s/o Shiva Chundawat, of Antari (later on Rampura) to give up the tutelege of Malwa and accept the suzerainty of Mewar instead[130]. It is further claimed that he conquered Ajaymeru[131] (Ajmer), Chatsu[131], Gangarad[132], Hadawati[133] and Ranthambhor[134]. All these made him a paramount power in Rajputana[135], and later on he came to be regarded as an incarnation of Vaman form of Vishnu[136]. Besides being a great warrior and a successful military leader, Kumbha

was wa- adept in all the systems of Indian philosophy[137], and was great patron of art and learning[137]. He was religious, charitable, wealthy, lustrous, patient and a bundle of several other good qualities[138].

Kumbha, who was a little mentally deranged in his old age[139], was assassinated by his son Uda[140] in 1468 A.D.[141] Uda surrendered Ajmer to the Rathors in exchange for their friendship[142]. Madadecha Chauhans occupied Godwad[143]. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khilji of Malwa conquered Sambhar[144]. Even the forts of Ranthambhor[145] and Kumbhalner[146] fell into enemy's hands. Raimal, the younger son of Kumbha, who was in Idar[147], came with a big army[148] on invitation from the nobles[149], who manoeuvred Uda out of the fort of Chittor[149]. Uda, however, won the support of Kshema-Karan, a disgruntled son of Rana Mokal[150]. Raimal defeated Uda in the Battle of Dadimpur in which Kshema-Karan lost his life[151]. Uda left Mewar, lived for some time in Sojat and finally went to Bikaner where he died[152]. Raimal ascended the throne in 1473 A.D. Raimal conquered Kumbhalner and defeated Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khijli near Mandalgadh[153]. The fleeing Muslims were pursued upto Khairabad which was plundered by the Rana[154]. The deeds of his valour, we are told, echoed in Kashmir, Karnartak, Andhak and Gujarat[155]. His exploits earned for him the title of "the bravest amongst the rulers"[156]. It is clamimed that he surpassed Kumbha in certain respects[157] and came to be respected as an incarnation of Vishnu[158]. He repaired the temple of Eklingji in 1488 A.D. and spent 20 lakhs of rupees in the celebrations in which several rulers participated[159]. He was a great patron of

learning[160] as well.

However, in his last days the Sultan of Malwa succeeded in establishing some Jaziya collectors in Mewar[161]. Prithviraj, the eldest son of Raimal, attacked and expelled them[161]. The Rana rebuked the prince for such a precipitate action and Prithviraj behaved rudely in return. So he was compelled to quit Chittor and take up his abode in Kumbhalner[161]. By 1501 A.D.[162] he cleared Godwad off the Madadecha Chauhans and firmly established his power in that region with the help of Sada Solankis, the emegres from Patan[163]. The strained relations between the crown-prince and the Rana led to several speculations about the succession after Raimal, causing much bad blood between the princes. Surajmal, s/o Kshema Karan,[164] entrenched himself in Badi Sadadi and its adjoining regions[165]. The question of succession to the aging Rana became very hot, important and urgent.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Bapa is called "Vipra" , i,e., a Brahmin in Samar Singh's inscription (Bhavanagar Inscriptions, p.75).

(2) Abu Inscription of 1285 A.D. (Ind. Ant., XVI/347) says that Bapa exchanged his Brahmanic force with Harit Rashi for the latter's Kshtriya force.

(3) Abu Inscription, verse 8

(4) An inscription of 1278 A.D., lying in the courtyard behind Naukhotha Mahal in Chittor describes Harita Rashi as "Pashupatacharya" . (The text of the inscription is published in Vir Vinod I/397).

(5) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription of 1488 A.D. (Pub. Vir Vinod), verse 13

(6) Raj Prashasti III/9

(7) cf. Abu Inscription, verse 10; Raj Prashasti III/9; Rasiya ki Chhatari (Mahasatiyan), Chittor Inscription (Pub. Vir Vinod I/392-96), Verse 10

(8) cf. Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 14. It is said that Harid Rashi prayed to Mahadeo for Bapa and got for him the kingdom of Mewar (Nensi I/15). Even upto the present-day the Ranas of Mewar are called as "the Diwan of Eklinga" or merely "Diwan" and on the death of one Rana his successor is invested on this post by the priest of Ekling by bestowing on him the turbon of this office.

(9) Raj Prashasti III/12

(10) ibid, III/18; Dalpat Vijay: Khuman Raso, leaf 3 verse 33.

(11) Raj Prashasti III/18

(12) Chittor Inscription of the Moris (Pub. Vir Vinod I/379).

(13) Raj Prashasti (III/12) gives 191 V.S. (i.e., 134 A.D.) as the year of the conquest of Chittor by Bapa. However, Ekling Mahatmya (Rajavarnan XX/21) gives 753 A.D. (810 V.S.) as the year of the retirement of Bapa from the political life. So the year of his conquest of Chittor should be 734 A.D. (791 V.S.). It is necessary to know that manytimes the Mewari numeral "7" is confused with "1" which in its turn is mistaken for "0" (See Chart II attached to Tiwari's "Some Undetermined Dates of Mewar": Pub. Journal of University of Poona,1955, facing p.98).

(14) Raj Prashasti III/19; Jagannath Temple, Udaipur, Inscription (of the reign of Jagat Singh, the great grandson of Rana Pratap: Pub. Vir Vinod II/384-89), verse 10.

(15) Eklang Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 17.

(16) Ekling Mahatmya, XX/21; Khuman Raso, leaf 20, verse 5.

(17) Nanak Swami Temple (Aitpur) Inscription of 981 A.D. (Pub. Vir Vinod I/383); Raj Prashasti III/20

(18) Khuman Raso, leaf 6, verse 4ff.

(19) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 5(b)

(20) Khuman Raso, leaf 20, verses 5-6.

(21) Saraneswara Mahadeo Temple (Udaipur) Inscription of 953 A.D. (Pub. Vir Vinod I/380).

(22) R.R. Haldar: "Chittor and Its Sieges" (Ind. Ant. LIX (1930),p.163). Munja is also reported to have been at Ahad to destroy it (Epi. Ind., X/20).

(23) Vimal Shah Temple (Abu) Inscription, verses 5-6; Jinaprabha Sura: Tirtha Kalpa, Arbudakalpa, verses 39-40 (Pub. Oza: Rajputana ka Itihas I/435 n.3). Bhoj is ~~also~~ reported to have built the temple of Tribhuvan Narayan (later on Samidheswar Mahadeo) also (Oza, op. cit., I/436 n.1).

(24) Haldhar, op. cit., p.164.

(25) Neminath Temple (Delwara:Abu) Inscription (Pub. Epi. Ind. VIII/2111), verse 38

(26) Oza: Dungarpur ka Itihas, p.46

(27) Haldhar, op. cit.,p.164

(28) Abu Inscription of Samar Singh, verse 36

(29) Nensi I/20

(30) Mamadeo Temple (Kumbhalgadh) Inscription of 1460 A.D. (Pub. Vir Vânod I/411-16), verses 149-50

(31) Rajputana Museum Annual Report 1915-16, p.3.

(32) Raj Prashasti III/29. Nensi (I/19-20) says that this attack was made on Merta and not Mandowar.

(33) Raj Prashasti III/29; Nensi I/20

(34) For the meaning of the word "Rana" see Jagannath Temple Inscription, verses 11-12; Onkareswara Temple Inscription (of the reign of Jagat Singh), verse 3; Raj Prashasti III/34.

(35) Raj Prashasti III/30; Nensi I/20

(36) Raj Prashasti III/32; Nensi I/21

(37) Farishta (Briggs Tr.),I/353-4. Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi (Basu Tr.),p.76, gives 1300 A.D. as the year of the fall of Chittor.

(38) Nensi I/21

(39) Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi,p.76

(40) Farishta I/353-54

(41) For the text of this inscription see Oza: Rajputana ka Itihas I/497.

(42) Nensi I/153. Maldeo held it for 7 years (Nensi I/153).

(43) Samidhèswra Mahadeo (Chittor) Inscription,verse 7.

(44) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 22; Mamadeo Temple (Kumbhalner) Inscription,verse 188.

(45) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription,verse 22

(46) Haldhar op. cit.,p.164

(47) Mahavir Swami Temple Inscription: Bombay Branch of Royal Society Journal XXIII/50.

(48) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 23

(49) Raj Prashasti IV/8-9.

(50) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 16

(51) cf. The reference to Ganga on his forehead (Raj Prashasti IV/7) and to the bringing of Ganga on his forehead to Chittor (Khuman Raso, leaf 118,verses 3ff)

(52) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 189

(53) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verses 12-15

(54) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 185

(55) Nensi I/22. Badava Devidan: Udaipur ki Raniyaun ki Khyat (leaf 1(a)) gives 64 years 7 months and 14 days.

(56) Eklinga Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 31

(57) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 195; Jagannath Temple Inscription, verse 27.

(58) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 197; Eklinga Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 29.

(59) Tuzuk-i Jahangiri (Rogers Tr.),I/407

(60) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 201.

(61) ibid, verse 193. It is further claimed in this inscription (verse 194) that the Rana brought the Sultan captive to Delvattan (Delwara) along with his chieftains (verse 201).

(62) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 30.

(63) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 192.

(64) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 26

(65) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 203.

(66) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verses 24, 29-30; Jagannath Temple Inscription, verses 25-6.

(67) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 33.

(68) ibid, verse 38; Mamadeo Temple Inscription,verse 208

(69) Ranapur (Godwad)Jain Temple Inscription (of the reign of Kumbha: Pub. Vir Vinod I/409-10): Vir Vinod I/409.

(70) Kota (near Desuri: Marwar) Inscription (Pub. Jou. Bombay branch of Royal Asiatic Society XII (1916)/ 114).

(71) Their names are given in Mamadeo Temple Inscription (verse 212) as Meda, Nara, Bhall and Shardul. Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription (verse 35) speaks about Joga and Durga.

(72) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verses 36-37

(73) ibid, verse 38.

(74) ibid, verse 51

(75) See Appendix A

(76) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 38.

(77) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 39.

(78) ibid, verse 40; Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 38; Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 210.

(79) cf. Nensi II/104.

(80) A copper-plate of 1413 A.D. of Rana Lakha refers to this marriage. Lakha died in 1413 A.D. (cf. Mirat-i Sikandari, p.13), when Mokal was about 5 years old (Nensi I/25). Mokal was born 13 months after this marriage (ibid, I/25). So the marriage would have taken place somewhere in 1406 A.D.

(81) Nensi I/23-24. She was the daughter of Rao Chunda (ibid II/90) who had turned out his eldest son Ranmal at the behest of his second wife (ibid I/23) to enable her uterine son Kanha to succeed him (ibid, II/93).

(82) ibid, I/24

(83) Khuman Raso, leaf 121, verse 68.

(84) Nensi I/24

(85) ibid,I/25

(86) cf. Mirat-i Sikandari, p.13

(87) For the text of the copper-plate see Appendix B.

(88) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.13

(89) "Renukacharitra" by Jinadas (Pub. Jain Granth Prashasti Sangraha, edi. Jugal Kishor Mukhtyar, I/64).

(90) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 44; Mewari post-script to Ekling Temple Inscription (Pub. Vir Vinod I/423-24); Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 221; Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription,

verse 51. This battle was fought on the borders of Mewar and Nagor (Nensi I/111-12).

(91) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.21

(92) Tabkat-i Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad (De Tr.),III/220-21. See also Farishta IV/32.

(93)Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 221.

(94) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 43.

(95) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 221.

(96) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 45

(97) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 222

(98) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 74. The installation ceremony of this idol took place in 1428 A.D. (the Hindu date being Shravan Shukla 3, 1485 V.S.).

(99) Ranpur Jain Temple Inscription (Pub. Vir Vinod I/409).

(100) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 223.

(101) ibid, verse 229

(102) Ranpur Jain Temple Inscription (Pub. Vir Vinod I/409)

(103) Raj Prashasti IV/12.

(104) Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple Inscription, verse 61.

(105) Raj Prashasti IV/11.

(106) Nensi I/25.

(107) ibid, I/26-28.

(108) ibid,I/28.

(109) ibid, I/28.

(110) ibid, I/28-29.

(111) Found in the thikana records of the estate of Badnor.

(112) Nensi II/384.

(113) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 247.

(114) ibid, verse 249.

(115) ibid, verse 253.

(116) ibid, verse 246.

(117) ibid, verse 250.

(118) ibid , verse 253.

(119) ibid, verse 260.

(120) ibid, verse 265.

(121) ibid, verse 266.

(122) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.34.

(123) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 267.

(124) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 50; Jagannath Temple Inscription, verse 33.

(125) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 269.

(126) ibid, verse 268.

(127) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.33; Farishta IV/40.

(128) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.34; Farishta IV/41; Tab. III/229-230.

(129) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.34-36; Farishta IV/41-43, 219-22; Tab. III/231-34, 525-28.

(129 a) Udairaj: Rajvinod Mahakavya (edi. Gopal Narayan Bohara), IV/12.

(130) Nensi I/110.

(131) Ranpur Jain Temple Inscription: Vir Vinod I/409.

(132) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 259.

(133) ibid, verse 264.

(134) ibid, verse 261.

(135) Ranpur Jain Temple Inscription: Vir Vinod I/410.

(136) Nensi I/21.

(137) Ranpur Jain Temple Inscription: Vir Vinod I/410.

(138) Mamadeo Temple Inscription, verse 230. However, his encouragement to Jaisa Bhati to join Sultan of Delhi to bring destruction upon the rulers of Jaisalmer (Nensi II/ 380) was a short-sighted act.

(139) Nensi I/39.

(140) Mewar ka Itihas (MS), item 225.

(141) Uda ruled for 4 yrs 5 months and 9 days (Mewar ka Itihas, item 225) and was expelled by his brother Raimal in 1473 A.D. (Vanshavali 828, leaf 58(a); Rajavali (without pagination). So Uda would have ascended the throne in cir. 1468 A.D.

(142) Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1920 edi.), I/339.

(143) cf. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 67(a)ff.

(144) "Holim Renuka Charitra" by Jinadas, verse 31 (Jain Granth Prashasti Sangrah, I/64).

(145) cf. The conquest of Ranthambhor by Sanga in 1523 A.D. from Sultan Mahmud Khilji (Sanga ra Kavitta by Kavi Rao, verse @ 4: Appendix G).

(146) cf. The conquest of Kumbhalner by Rana Raimal: Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 66.

(147) Nensi I/39.

(148) Rajavali (Without pagination).

(149) Nensi I/39.

(150) Nensi I/94. Kshemakarna alias Khema,s/o Rana Mokal, had participated in an engagement and defeated Malik

Bahari in the Battle of Sankhodhar (Khadavada Bavari Inscription, Verse 26, edi. Prof. Rameswara Oza: Nagari Pracharini Patrika, ■ XII (1988 V.S.)). It appears that this battle might have taken place during the war between Rana Kumbha and Sultan Mahmud Khilji I of Mandu. Later on some quarrel arose between Kshema and Kumbha because of the occupation of Tejpal ki Sadadi by Kshema in virtue of the grant of Mokal which Kumbha did not like (Nensi I/94). So Kshema went away to Malwa (Haribhushan Maha-Kavya, ch.I/21-23) and returned with a Muslim force to attack Mewar (Nensi I/93), resulting into no gain for Kshema and no loss to Kumbha as both continued to fight over Sadadi without any success by any one over the other (Nensi I/94). After the death of Kumbha, his regicide son Uda won over Kshema to his side, possibly, by granting the region between Sadadi and Girwa, a tract which Surajmal was possessing during the War of Succession without its ever being mentioned to have been conquered by him.

(151) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 64.

(152) Nensi I/39.

(153) Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verse 68.

(154) ibid, verse 78.

(155) ibid, verse 80.

(156) Adinath Temple (Satrunjaya Tirtha, Palitana) of 1530 A.D. (Pub. Epi. Ind. II/42-47), verse 6.

(157) Jagannath Temple Inscription, verse 36.

(158) ibid, verse 35.

(159) Mewar ka ~~xxxxxx~~ Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 15(b). This khyat is also called Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat.

(160) cf. Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription, verses 94-95.

(161) Nensi I/43. See also Nensi I/42. Tod (op. cit., I/341) wrongly calls Sanga as the eldest son of Raimal.

(162) See the date of the Adinath Jain Temple (Narloi) Inscription: Pub. Vir Vinod I/425.

(163) For the details of this expedition see Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaves 61(b)-69(a).

(164) Nensi I/217.

(165) ibid, I/94.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix 'A' :

मले दल सबल कलाघर लासा
नाम सहे सुरताणा नाद
बीडर धकी मनीद अुपाथे
अर जिडर धपका प्रसाद

(From the collection of late Shri. Motilalji Shrotriya, M.A.)

Appendix 'B' :

A copy of the Copper-plate from Lakha to Chunda obtained from Kareda :

ताम्बा पतरस अेक महाराणाजी श्रीलाखाजी राजस्थान् चक्रकोटस् महाराज कंवार श्री चुण्डाजी ने कर अवस्यो ।

के थे पाटवी हा जीं का छोटा मारी मुरजी रास हर राठोडा री सगाजी राखी सेा राठोडा रेा भाणेज हेगा वेा गादी रेा मालिक हेगा घाट रा माल्क थे छेा ।

जागीरी रुपया ७०००००१) सात लाखरी देवाणी । सही मालेा पट्टा परवाना रै माथा सरे थांढेा हेवसी ।

क्रोड रुपयारेा क्सूर थांरा वंशरेा करसी तेा गादीवालेा क्सूर मानेगा नही । श्री अगेर सरवेस कलमा धारी संवत् १४०७ री साल मैं कर दीदेा

ताम्बा पत्र असल तेा सलूम्बर छेा आ नकल अठे छे

(Pbtained by the courtesy of Raja Bahadur Amar Singhji of Kareda)

CHAPTER III

THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

(1505 - 1508 A. D.)

Flight of Sanga:-

The three princes-royal of Mewar - Prithviraj, Jaimal and Sanga[1] - ~~x~~ went to Idar to attend the marriage of the daughter of Rao Bhana[2], the king of Idar[3], possibly, with Sanga[4]. There a Brahmin, on examining their respective horoscopes, predicted the succession of Sanga to the throne of Mewar after Rana Raimal. Prithviraj attempted at the assassination of Sanga there on the spot but was dissuaded to defer his vengeance till a fresh verdict on this matter by Biri[5], a Tungal charini and the priestess-oracle of Bhimal[6]. She also later on confirmed the forecast[7]. The followers of Prithviraj rushed to kill Sanga in the very room of the priestess but for the timely intervention of Surajmal, who bore the brunt of the attack on his person. Sanga made a bid to escape to Marwar through the pass of Desuri with Jaimal hotly pursuing him[8]. At Savantri Vido Udavat[9] and Jaimal Rathor[10] and Raimal Rathor[11] had come for pilgrimage to Raupanarayan temple. Ready with their horses and baggage for departure, they had entrusted their goods to their servants and gone into the shrine for the departing look at the idol. When they came out of the shrine, Sanga, bleeding and breathless, came running, seeking protection against his pursuers. The warrior-

-pilgrims gave a horse to Sanga to flee, and themselves, sword in hand, stood up manfully to oppose Jaimal and his party. Soon Jaimal arrived on the scene and demanded information about Sanga. Jaita and Vida boldly refused, fought with Jaimal till their last breathe, and died on the spot on April 25, 1505 A.D. This engagement offered a welcome opportunity to Sanga to contrive entry into Marwar, wherefrom, after nursing his wounds, he proceeded to join the services of Karamchand Pawar of Srinagar,[12] i.e., near modern Ajmer.

Banishment of Prithviraj :-

The news of this fatricidal feud, which had almost killed Sanga, on reaching the Rana further[13] offended him against Prithviraj. Condemnation of this act and Prithviraj's expulsion from the court were its fruits. Prithviraj, on being informed of this sentence, proceeded direct to Kumbhalner to repair to Godwad to govern this self-acquired district[14]. Soon afterwards he married Tara Bai,[15] the celebrated daughter of Rao Surtan Solanki,[16] who, since his expulsion from his ancestral kingdom of Toda[17] by Lalla Khan Pathan, an officer of the Sultan of Mandu, was living in Badnor, a district given to him by the Rana for his subsistence.[18] Besides being a noted-beauty, Tara Bai was expert in horse-riding, well-skilled in archery, hunting and other martial games.[19] Infatuated by her far-famed beauty and manly cultivations Jaimal had also solicited her hand[20]

but Rao Surtan preferred Prithviraj. The marriage would have taken place somewhere about November - December 1505 A.D.[21]

Prithviraj's Conquest of Toda:-

As Prithviraj had already earned the enmity of the Sultan of Mandu by expelling the jaziya-collections of Malwa from Mewar[22]. Lalla Khan, on orders from the Sultan, looted Magaroh and Akola, and carried away several people in slavery.[23] Prithiviraj in his turn made several retaliatory attacks on Toda and engaged the officers of Lalla Khan several times.[24] Ultimately, once he, accompanied by Tara Bai in martial uniform and 500 followers entered the city of Toda during the Muharram festival and killed Lalla Khan, when the Muslims were engaged in taking out their 'taziyas'. A huge elephant at the gate, who obstructed their escape, met its death at the hands of Tara Bai. Toda was reconquered and handed over to Rao Surtan.[25] Prithviraj soon afterwards fell upon Visalpur and killed Hasan Khan, its governor.[26] Similarly, he attacked and killed Mallu Khan, the governor of Ajmer and looted the city.[27]

The Battle of Gambhiri :-

During these days, true to the anti-Raimal policy of his father Kshemakaran, Surajmal had established almost de facto sovereignty over the region extending from Girwa to Sadadi. Prithviraj ousted him from Girwa

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after injuring him severely.[28] Sarangdeo[29] was expelled from Bhainsrod by Prithviraj, an act for which he had once obtained permission from the Rana.[30] Fearing for his Sadadi, Surajmal, accompanied by Sarangdeo, went to Sultan Nasiruddin of Mandu for aid. The Sultan's demand for their daughters in exchange for help brought them back to Mewar disappointed and empty-handed. Surajmal established himself at Sadadi and Sarandeo, at Batharde.[31] Meanwhile the cumulative effect of the expulsion of the jaziya-collectors of Malwa from Mewar, the reconquest of Toda, the deaths of Hasan Khan, Mallu Khan and Lalla Khan brought the ire of Mandu on Mewar.[32] Sarangdeo and Surajmal joined the Sultan with their forces.[33] This combined army converged on Chittor. Raimal fought a battle on the bank of R. Gambhiri and received 22 wounds. The day was almost lost but for the unexpected but timely appearance of Prithviraj, who, possibly, informed by his spies, fell, as if from the blue, with 1000 men upon the enemies from behind.[34] The tables were turned. The approaching victory was turned into a total rout. Utterly defeated the Muslims fled away to Malwa.[35] Surajmal was carried to his camp enveloped with 84 wounds.[36] Next day, in an engagement between the forces of Surajmal and Sarangdeo on one hand, and of Raimal and Prithviraj on the other, Sarangdeo received 35 wounds and the prince 7.[37] Surajmal was badly wounded and conveyed to a safe place in mountains by his servants.[38] Prithviraj chased them but in vain. In this pursuit

Banna Devada was slain by Mahiya Bhakharot of Prithviraj's party.[39]

Prithviraj and the Rebels :-

This defeat compelled Surajmal and Sarangdeo to retire to Sadadi and Batharde respectively.[40] Some time in next winter Surajmal was visited by Sarangdeo at Sadadi, Prithviraj attacked them with 700 soldiers when they, along with their followers, were sitting around bonfires to avoid cold. The skirmish which ensued planted severe wounds on the heads of Surajmal and Sarangdeo. Suddenly Surajmal called off the fight on the plea that the demise of Prithviraj would deprive Mewar of her heir-apparent. The armed conflict being over, Prithviraj invited Surajmal to accompany him to a nearby temple of some deity, an offer the ailing uncle refused. Next day Prithviraj succeeded in inducing Sarangdeo to visit that temple along with him and when Sarangdeo was making obeisance before the idol Prithviraj struck him with a sword. The victim retaliated but unsuccessfully, his sword dashed against the plinth of the statue of the goddess. Sarangdeo died soon after. Prithviraj occupied Batharde. Surajmal was also compelled to evacuate Sadadi but not without distributing the land to Brahmins, Bhats, Jogis,[41] etc., to deprive the Rana of the revenue of this tract. The charans alone received 12 villages out of this lot.[42] Then he decamped towards Kanthal country on the borders of Mewar and Malwa, a region in the neighbour-

-hood of which ruled Sultan Nasiruddin Khilji through Khan Alam Maqbal Khan.[43] Possibly he got some land from the Sultan and ruled there with Devlia as his capital.[44]

Prithviraj Captures the Sultan of Mandu :-

The timely intervention of Prithviraj in the Battle of R. Gambhiri affected a reconciliation between Raimal and the prince, and the countermanding of the order of latter's banishment from the court. One day, when at Chittor, Prithviraj happened to see the Rana talking face to face with the envoy of Mandu, a practice which the prince instantaneously denounced. The Rana could justify it only ~~on the plea of its being~~ as a necessary evil for his maintenance of the sovereignty of Mewar; and that that humilation could be ended only if the prince brought the Sultan of Malwa captive to Chittor, the Rana added. Prithviraj accepted the challenge. Leaving Chittor, he collected 5,000 horsemen at Nimuch, secretly fell upon Dipalpur before day-break, looted the city and killed its Muslim thanedar. On hearing about it Sultan Nasiruddin marched out of Mandu to oppose the Rajputs. When the Muslims were engaged in pitching their tents at Nadhoda, 16 miles from Mandu, Prithviraj fell upon them, and after killing several of them, took Nasiruddin captive and turned towards Chittor with the prize. To deter the pursuing ~~the~~ Mussalmans, Prithviraj threatened to kill the Sultan, who otherwise was guaranteed safety and speedy return if the Rajputs were allowed to proceed unmolested to Chittor. When the Sultan was presented ~~before the Rana~~

before the Rana, the bravery of Prithviraj received high and eloquent recognition and appreciation from his admiring father. After a captivity of one month, the Sultan was released for 5 paraganas and 500 horses. Prithviraj returned to Kumbhalner.[45]

Sanga in Shrinagar :-

Just about this time, Sanga, who was serving Karamchand in cognitio at Srinagar, came to be recognized by his master through clues provided by Gadari Nathu. Now a question posed before Karamchand:- Should Sanga be continued asylum in face of the would-be wrath of impulsive Prithviraj? Balisiji was for the ejection of the prince, an advice which Karamchand rejected. Sanga was openly accorded shelter in Srinagar. Soon this news reached Prithviraj. He was about to launch an expedition against Karamchand[46] when Destiny conspired otherwise through a letter of his (Prithiraj's) sister Nabama Bai (alias Surjirama Bai in her father-in-law's home) from Abu which called the prince to another theatre.[47]

Death of Prithviraj :-

Rao Paba alias Rao Jaimal of Idar had married Nabamabai and had received Abu in dowary. She informed her brother through a letter of the ill-treatment to which she was subjected by her ever-intoxicated husband.[48] Prithviraj rushed to Idar, scaled the walls of the palace in night, entered the sleeping chamber of the Rao and

seized him. Pardon was offered by the prince to the Rao on his (latter's) falling at the feet of his spouse, which was done. Then the Rao and the prince embraced each other. At the request of the Rao the prince stayed for some days in Idar. Several feasts were arranged in his honour and the days passed happily on. At the time of departure, suspecting them to be stimulants, the prince requested for some pills which had no harmful affect on the Rao, and in spite of the refusal of the Rao, persisted in having some and got them on the condition that they would not be in-taken before the prince reached his palace. Prithviraj disregarded this advice and took half of a pill at Sadadi, another half in the valley of Kumbhalner, a moiety while entering the fort, and the remaining half when nearing his palace. This quota was too much for the prince. The poison spread in his blood and killed him near the temple of Mamadeo, in the fort, at the age of seven and twenty.[49] Thus died Prithviraj, a prince, whose swiftness of attacks, mobility of forces, strategy and valour were a wonder of his age. He was popularly known amongst his contemporaries as "flying" or "winged" Prithviraj.[50] Tara Bai accompanied her lord with 17 other co-wives on his pyre.[51]

Death of Jaimal :-

The death of Prithviraj and Tara Bai left Jaimal free to ventilate his anger on Rao Surtan Solanki of Badnor. Surtan attempted at the pacification of Jaimal through ~~the intercession of~~ Ratana Sankhala. The maternal-

uncle of Tara Bai. This made Jaimal further rude to remark that he would drag the wife of Surtan after tying her to the tail of a carted horse. Ratana also behaved with equal rudeness with the prince. With a view to avoid feud with the eldest surviving son of his benefactor - Rana Raimal - , Surtan thought it proper to quit Badnor with bag and baggage. Jaimal chased him and got killed at the hands of Ratana Sankhala, who also lost his life at the hands of the followers of the prince on the same spot, between Akadsada and Sathana.[52] When acquainted with the facts of this event, the Rana generously excused Surtan and allowed him to return to his jagir, Badnor.[53]

Sanga's Return to Mewar :-

However, the shock of the death of Jaimal, just in the wake of the tragic end of Prithviraj, was too much for the aging Rana. It incapaciated him to such an extent that Jai Singh, the eldest amongst the surviving sons, was appointed to carry on the administration on his behalf. However, Jaisingh lacked qualities requisite for endearing himself to the nobility of Mewar. Hence the nobles called Sanga from Shrinagar and appointed him in Jai Singh's place,[54] some time before 1508 A. D.[55] (most probably on December, 7, 1506 A.D.[56]).

Accession of Sanga, Its Date:-

The exact date of the death of Raimal is unknown. He had ascended the throne in 1473 A.D.(1530 V.S.)[57]

and is said to have ruled for a period extending from 35 years 0 month and 1 day to 35 years 1 month and 2 days which came to an end in 1565 V.S.[58] of old Mewari calender, i.e., between Shravan Krishna 1,1565 V.S. (July 1508 A.D.) to Asadh Shukla 15, 1566 V.S.(July 1509 A.D.). A copper-plate[59] dated September 14,1511 A.D. (Ashoj Krishna 8, 1568 V.S.) records the grant of two villages - Dohani and Sevani - by Rana Sanga on the occasion of the Asoji Shraddha of his father Raimal. It gives the 'tithi' of the death of Raimal (the 8th day of the fortnight) but not the month. The coronation of Sanga took place on May, 24, 1509 A.D.(Jaistha Shukla 5, 1566 V.S.)[60] A copper-plate dated June 21, 1509 A.D. of his reign[61] supports this date. The nearest date on which the date of the death of Raimal, consistent with the tithi of his Shraddha, ~~can be fixed to~~ i.e., Jaistha Shukla 5, 1566 V.S.,is Jaistha Krishna 7, 1566 V.S.(i.e., May, 12, 1509 A.D.) when according to the old Mewari convention, 1565 V.S. was running. So obviously at least 12 days intervened between the death of Raimal and the succession of Sanga[62]. And it is understandable. Jai Singh was there to oppose the succession of Sanga. However, there is nothing on record to suggest bloodshed on this occasion. This looks strange and requires some explanation. It was, as we shall see in the next chapter, the invasion of Mewar by Sultan Sikandar Lodi. This national danger appears to have united the nobles of Mewar. Sanga got the throne without any armed clash with the partisans of his brother, Jai Singh.

FOOTNOTES

(1) These three princes were uterine brothers, born to Rana Raimal from Ratanavati Bai Jhali alias Jaivanti-Bai (Amar Kavya, leaf 28(a)), daughter of Raja-rana Rajdhar (Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 1(b); Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(b); Vanshavali 872, p.123; Vanshavali 878, leaf 62(b); Rajavali (without pagination); Papers from the collection of late Shri Motilalji Shrotriya M.A.).

(2) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 54(a)-(b).

(3) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.95.

(4) Badava Devidan (op. cit., leaf 2(b)) gives the name of one Lal Kumar Rathod, daughter of Rao Bhana of Idar, as one of the wives of Sanga. So it is not improbable that the occasion of marriage referred to might be that of the wedding of Lal Kumar with Sanga.

(5) Kavi Raja Shyamaldas: Vir Vinod I/343; Ojha: Pratap-gadh Rajya ka Itihas, p.59.

(6) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 54(b). Bhimal is situated in Nahar Magara, near Eklingji in the east.

(7) Raval Rana ki Vat (leaves 55(a)-(b)) says that when the princes went to call on the lady she asked them to visit her on the next day. Next day there was one stool and one cotton-pad for seating the princes. Prithviraj occupied the stool, and Sanga, the cotton-pad on the skirt of which Surajmal accomodated himself. So the priestess predicted throne for Sanga and a strip of the territory of Mewar for Surajmal. Prithviraj's

partisans attacked Sanga who was saved by Surajmal, letting Sanga escape and chased by Jaimal. Sarda (Maharana Sanga, Eng. text, p.13) blames Surajmal without any evidence and holds him responsible for the ill-will and blood-feud between these royal princes.

(8) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 55(b)-56(b)). Annecdotes have placed Sarangdeo in the place of Surajmal as the defender of Sanga (Oza: Pratapgadh Rajya ka Itihas, p.60 n.3).

(9) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 56(a).

(10) ibid, 56 (a).

(11) In the courtyard of the Rupanarayan Temple (Savantri) three memorial stones are standing even to this day. One of them belongs to a later date (See Appendix C (III)). Oza (Raj. Iti. II/44) wrongly holds it to be defaced and illegible and attributes it to Jaita. The other two belong to Bida and Rathor Raipal. Bida was accompanied by 4 brothers and 4 Rawats. Raipal had Khuman with him. These two inscriptions are dated Jaishtha Krishna 7,1561 V.S. (= Chaitra-beginning 1562 V.S.) corresponding to April 25,1505 A.D. (For the texts of these inscriptions see Appendices C (I) and (II)). Khuman is referred to in the inscription as "Bana", i.e., bridge-groom. So it appears that this was a marriage party.

(12) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 56(b)-57(a). Dr. Gopinath Sharma (Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, p.14, n.15) wrongly puts the year of Sanga's concealment in 1504 A.D. (i.e., 1561 V.S.).

(13) For the occasion of the first quarrel between Raimal and Prithviraj see Nensi (I/42-43).

(14) The view of Raval Rana ki Vat (leaves 61(b)-69(a)) that Godwad was conquered by Prithviraj after this quarrel is unacceptable in the light of Adinath Jain Temple (Narloi: Godwad) Inscription dated Vaishakha Shukla 6, 1557 V.S. (Chaitra-beginning 1558 V.S.) equivalent to April 23, 1501 A.D. It establishes beyond doubt the fact that Godwad was governed by Prithviraj on behalf of his father many years before 1505 A.D. when the War of Succession started. Tod (op. cit.,I/343), Vir Vinod (I/344-45) and Sarda (op. cit.,pp, 21-24) follow Raval Rana ki Vat, which is incorrect.

(15) Nensi I/44; Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 70(a).

(16) Nensi I/44; Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 69(a). However, cf. Vir Vinod (I/345) where Tara Bai is called Surtan's sister and the daughter of Shyam Singh Solanki.

(17) Nensi I/44; Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 69(b).

(18) Nensi I/43-44,219.

(19) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 69(a).

(20) Raval Rana ki Vat (leaves 69(a)-(b)) says that Jaimal asked for the hand of Tara Bai to which her father consented. However, Jaimal wanted to see her before marriage which her father stoutly refused and to avoid quarrel with the son of his benefactor, decided to leave Badnor and actually left the place with his baggage and family. Still Jaimal pursued him

him so Ratana Sankhala, brother of the wife of Rao Surtan, killed him near Akadsada. The Rana praised the conduct of Surtan as worthy of a Rajput and excused him. Tod (op. cit.,I/344) and Vir Vinod (I/346) follow this view. However, Nensi (I/45) disagrees with it and holds that Jaimal died after the marriage of Prithviraj and Tara Bai. Khuman Raso (leaves 123(b)-124(a)), on the other hand, says that Tara Bai was engaged to Jaimal but one day Prithviraj swooped upon Toda from Kumbhalner with 8,000 cavalry, forcibly married Tara Bai and returned to Kumbhalner. Being afraid of his formidable elder brother Prithviraj, instead of attacking Kumbhalner, Jaimal attacked Toda with 2,000 horse. Ratana, the maternal uncle of Tara Bai, killed him. Surtan came upto the fort of Kumbhalner to attack Prithviraj but returned without making any assault. This view is incorrect. Surtan had lost Toda long before this marriage. However, by reading Nensi and Raval Rana ki Vat together we get a clue to the cause of the quarrel between Jaimal and Surtan. Most probably, the disappointment of Jaimal in getting Tara Bai to wife got a chance of revenging upon Surtan after the beauty (Tara Bai) and her hero (Prithviraj) had departed from this world. It is worth remarking that the whole story of Raval Rana ki Vat about the love-longings of Jaimal and his

fatal end proves nothing more than his ardent desire to marry Tara Bai before her hand was entrusted to Prithviraj.

(21) The quarrel between Prithviraj and Sanga had taken place at Bhimal on April 25,1505 A.D. (Jaishtha Krishna 7,1562 V.S.). So there were only 48 days left between this date and the last date of the marriage-season which ends every year on Asadh Shukla 10. The next marriage-season begins on Kartika Shukla 11. Possibly, this marriage might have taken in the second season. Though there is no evidence for supporting this plea,it should be remembered that 48-day period between the end of the first marriage season that year and the date of quarrel is not adequate for covering all the events which attended this marriage.

(22) cf. Nensi I/43.

(23) Nensi I/43.

(24) Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(a); Vanshavali 872, leaf 123; Vanshavali 878, leaf 62(b). One of these engagements took place at Nadol, according to these texts.

(25) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 70(b)-71(a). Davavet (leaf 4)further adds/that this event permanently antagonized Malwa and Mewar. For the text of the portion from Davavet see Appendix D.

(26) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 71(b).

(27) ibid, leaves 71(b)-72(a).

(28) Nensi I/94. Neither Raimal could be friendly to Surajmal

nor could Surajmal give up his hostilities to the House of Raimal. Haribhushan Mahakavya (II/18-19) hints at the secret instigation of Raimal in the attack made by Prithviraj on Surajmal which cost Girwa to the latter, in spite of the fact that Surajmal was willing to arrive at some accomodation with Prithviraj who refused the offer (Ch.III/1-18) and inflicted 84 wounds on his uncle (III/45-53) during this battle (III/25-43).

(29) He was son of Ajja and the grandson of Lakha (Vir Vinod I/347).

(30) Ramnarayan Duggad, op. cit.,p.18. Oza (Raj. Iti. II/905) says that Raimal bestowed Bhaisrorgadh on Sarangdeo as a reward for the latter's successful effort in saving the life of Sanga at the hands of Prithviraj, which made Prithviraj his avowed enemy. Vir Vinod (I/347) says that after the Battle of Gamghiri, Bhainsrorgadh was bestowed upon Sarangdeo by Raimal on request. However, the Rana permitted Prithviraj to snatch away this fief from Sarangdeo as he was himself very much afraid of this prince (Prithviraj). Sarda (op. cit.,p.34) says that Sarangdeo received Bhainsrorgadh after the death of Jaimal. All these views are without any foundations.

(31) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 72(b). It is said that Surajmal and Samrangdeo joined hands and usurped the territory between Untala and Nimuch at this time (ibid,leaf 73(b))

(32) Tab. III/570; Farishta IV/243.

(33) The zamindars referred to in Tab. (III/570) might in all probability would have been Surajmal and Sarangdeo. Raval Rana ki Vat (leaf 73(a)) hides this fact and speaks about the attack on Chittor by the forces of Surajmal and Sarangdeo alone.

(34) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 73(a)-(b).

(35) The silence of the Muslim historians about this event suggests their defeat.

(36) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 73(a). It is said that Prithviraj visited him in his camp at mid-night, bandaged his wounds and dined off the same platter with him (ibid, 74(a)-(b)).

(37) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 74(b)-75(a); Oza: Pratapgadh Rajya ka Itihas, pp.64-65; Tod, op. cit.,I/346.

(38) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 74(b). See also Nensi I/94.

(39) Nensi I/94.

(40) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 75(a).

(41) ibid, leaves 75(a)-77(b). See also Khuman Raso, leaf 124(a), verse 59.

(42) The names of thesetwelve ~~of them~~ are given by Nensi (I/94) as:

Bhimal, Dharma, Charta, Godhiya, Bijhana, Bosola, Bharkhiya, Baliya, Thahruna, Charana Khedi, Kharade-devala, Bharki and Suali.

(43) See Gautameswara (13 miles south of Pratapgadh city) Inscription (Extract pub. Oza: Pratapgadh Rajya ka Itihas, pp.20-21).

(44) cf. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 78(a).

(45) ibid, leaves 78 (a)-80(a). Sarda (op,cit.,p.29) has misread the word "Ailchi" as "Ahidi". Hence he refers to the envoy of Mandu as a simple officer of the Sultan.

(46) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 57(a)-59(a). Tod (op. cit., I/343) gives the name of the informer as Maro and adds that Karamchand gave his daughter in marriage to Sanga. However, it is pertinent to note that Sanga had no Parmar wife at all (cf. Badava Devidan, op. cit., leaves 2(a)-(b)).

(47) Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(a). Ramnarayan Duggad calls this lady by the name Anandkumar and her husband as Jagmal (Tr. note to Hensi I/44 n.4; See also Vir Vinod I/350). Raval Rana ki Vat (leaf 59(a)) gives his alias as Rao Paba.

(48) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 59(a). Her husband was greatly addicted to opium and is reported to be resorting to cobra bite for intoxication (ibid, leaf 60(a)).

(49) ibid, leaf 59(a). Dalpat Vojay (Khuman Raso, leaf 124(b), verses 124-25)) accuses Rana Raimal for contriving the death of Prithviraj through his sister Nabamabai, who was also a party to this plot. This appears quite impossible in the light of amicability subsisting between Raimal and Prithviraj since the Battle of Gambhiri. The accusation of Tod (op. cit., I/348), Oza (Sirohi Rajya ka Itihas, p.205) and Vir Vinod (I/351) that Jagmal deliberately killed Prithviraj through poison-pills is wrong.

(50) Nensi I/44. He had received this appellation from the Sultan (of Mandu?) for his attack on Toda and Jhalor in one day (ibid I/44). Davavet (leaf 4) also refers him as "Flying (Udana) Prithviraj".

(51) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 80(a).

(52) Nensi I/45.

(53) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 69(b).

(54) Nensi I/46.

(55) A copper-plate of 1508 A.D. refers to a grant made on the orders of Sanga ("Adeshat") in the reign of Raimal (Pub. Oza: Banswara Rajya ka Itihas,p.55 n.1). Had Sanga donated the land after getting the approval of his father, the words would have been "Ko datta", as found in the copper-plate dated April 4,1521 A.D. (See appendix E).

(56) Sanga died, as we shall see later, on May 19, 1528 A.D. (i.e., Jaishtha Shukla 1,1585 V.S.) and is said to have ruled for 21 yrs 5 months and 9 days(Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(b); Sisod Vanshavali, item 226; Mewar ka Itihas, item 226; Vanshavali 878, leaf 63(b); Suryavamsha, leaf 47(a)). So by counting back 21 yrs 5 months and 9 days from Jaishtha Shukla 1,1585 V.S. we get Poshya Krishna 7,1563 V.S. (i.e., Dec.7, 1506 A.D.) as the date of this event.

(57) Rajavali (without pagination); Vanshavali 828, leaf 58(a); Mewar ka Itihas, item 225, give 1525 V.S.

(i.e., 1468 A.D.) because Uda Hatyara's reign is not separately mentioned there.

(58) Vanshavali 828, leaf 58(a); Rajavali (without pagination); Vanshavali 872, p.123. As Mewar ka Itihas (item 225) does not mention the rule of Uda separately, it includes the period of 4 yrs 5 months and 9 days, the duration of the reign of Uda, into the reign of Raimal and gives 39 yrs 6 months and 11 days.

(59) For the text of this inscription see Appendix F.

(60) Nensi I/47. Vir Vinod's (I/372) Jaishtha Shukla 5, 1565 V.S. (May 4,1508 A.D.) is due to the forgetfulness of the fact that in Mewar people changed their year in Shravan and not Chaitra; otherwise the date given by Kaviraja agrees with the one subscribed to by others. Oza (Raj. Iti. II/649) gives May 24,1509 A.D.

(61) Chief Commissioner's Office (Udaipur), Register entry no.45/93558. Dr. Gopinath's contention on the strength of this copper-plate that Sanga had acquired the throne of Mewar in 1565 V.S. (1508 A.D.) (op. cit., p.13, n.12) is wrong. The year of this copper-plate is Shravan-beginning. If reduced to Chaitra-beginning V.S. it would be 1566 V.S., i.e., 1509 A.D.

(62) cf. Vir Vinod I/352,354; Oza: Raj. Iti.,II/658.

परिशिष्ट (बी) (c)

(1) लाइन नं. १,

१, ।। संवत् १५६१ वर्षे जेष्ठ वदि ७ रवौ

२, ।। माहाराणा श्री रायमल कुमर श्री संग्रामसी

३, ।। ह सेवंत्री कलु हुव तठि राठुड बीदा देव

४, ।। हुआ कुंउर संग्राम रि कामि आया भाई

५, ।।४।। बीजा राउत ४ सुकलि कामि आयाथकु

६, ।। मर संग्राम सिंह रि काम आणा।।

(2) लाइन नं. २,

१, ।। संवत् १५६१ वर्षे जेष्ठ वदि ७रवौ राणा

२, ।। श्री रायमल कुमर श्री संग्राम सीह

३, ।। सेवंत्री कलु हुउ तांठि राठुड रायपाल

४, ।। देवी हुआ राठड धुमाण बनासहित

५, ।। कुमर संग्राम रि काम आया शुभ।।

(3) लाइन नं. ३,

१, सुवाता १५६२ आषे माघ व

२, दि १ राठाड राघव राठड ——

३, र ——र क मे _ _ द राखवता

APPENDIX 'D'

अुडणे प्रथीराज । तासेा परक्त घेरने । लला पठाणनु मार लीधेा ।
अुण दर्कहु । कलमारेने । सीसेादारे बेर बीधेा । सांगे राणे सात बार ।
सुरताणनिजंलेरा मैं जडिया । जण गादी अुदेसीघ बडेा ही सरकार ।
दलरेा अुधार । दातार जुझार । सरणाअी साधार । मासरां नु मांजिन ।
अुदीयानगर बसायेा नरलेाक मांहे । दुजेा केलासहि दरसायेा । जणारे
प्रतापसीघने सक्तसीघ ।

..(पृष्ठ ४)

APPENDIX 'E'

Text of the Copper-plate referring to a grant of land made by Ratansi for the propitiation of the spirit of Raghavdeo, b/o Chunda Lakhawat. Chief Commissioner, Udaipur, Office register No. 1345.

श्रीरामेाजती

श्रीगणेसप्रसाद श्रीअेकलंगप्रसा

माला

सही

लाअीन १ .. चिक्कोट महादुर्गे राजाधिराज श्री संग्राम
,, २ .. आदेसातु त्रिवाडी हरदास सेा भि अघाट स
,, ३ .. राघदे प्रीति मुषाघ्री राज श्रीरावते रनसी
,, ४ .. मुष अर्ग हेमा काबरा वरज पं श्री
,, ५ .. राजु दुध दूत काबरी माहे हल २ बडा अ
,, ६ .. घाटि मुषघसे ३०० राघेादे प्रीति सु -
,, ७ .. रताण तटी वार डेाहली कटु हेमा काब
,, ८ .. टिक अुपरि चंडावत कर
,, ९ .. संवत १५७७ वर्षे वैसाख वदि १२ कुजु
,, १० .. र रत्न के दुत

(This copper-plate is certified correct by MM Oza in his letter No. 189 dated 10/X/38 and also by Mahakama Tavarikh of the former Udaipur State by order No. 428 dated 28.2.37.)

APPENDIX 'F'

(The copy of the text of the copper-plate referring to the grant of two villages by Rana Sanga on the occasion of the Asoji Shraddha of his father Rana Raimal)

श्रीरामोजयति

श्री गणेशप्रसादातु श्रीएकलिंगप्रसादातु

माला

सही

महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्रीसंग्राम आदेशात जानी प्रयाग

नाम्य २ गाव गाव दोक्नी सेक्नी मया कीधी आघाट अुदक सासने

दत्त संवत १५६८ वर्षे आसोज वदि ८ राणा श्रीरायमल रा श्राध्व

दहाड मया कीधी दुआ श्रीमुष प्रत दुले जगराज लिष्तं पचोली हांसा

सीलदा (स)

The text of this copper -plate is obtained from Pt. Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur.

CHAPTER IV

MAHARANA SANGRAM SINGH

ALIAS SANGA

(1509 A.D. - 1528 A.D.)

Sangram Singh alias Sanga, born to Jaivanta Bai Jhali on Tuesday, April 14, 1482 A.D.[1], was the third son of Rana Raimal. Nothing is known about his childhood though it is safe to presume that normal martial training, a necessary equipment of a prince-royal in the mediaeval times, would not have been denied to him; and that martial skill which characterised all the sons of Raimal[2], would have adorned the personality of young Sanga as well. We first hear of him when Prithviraj and Jaimal challenged the verdicts of the astrologer and the priestess-oracle of Bhimal about the future succession of Sanga to the throne of Chittor after the death of Raimal through their attempts on the life of Sanga. The War of Succession (1505-6 A.D.) and the period following the return of Sanga to Mewar to administer the state on behalf of his father schooled him in the ways of the world and statecraft. The period preceeding the death of Raimal proved further fateful to him by manoeuvring events to bless the beginning of the reign of Sanga with a victory over the forces of Sikandar Lodi.

Battle of Bakrol:-

The Vanshavalis evidence for a battle between Sher Khan Pathan[3] of Narwar[4] and Maharana Sanga on the 19th

day since his succession to the throne of Mewar (i.e., Monday, June 11,1509 A.D.). However, no reason for this clash is given. Farishta[5], Tabkat-i Akbari[6], Tarikh-i Daudi[7], Al Badaoni[8] and Niamatullah[9] refer to Sultan Sikander's attack on ~~Hawa~~ Narwar through Jalal and Sher Shah Farmuli in 1507 A.D. During the siege of the fort of Narwar these imperial commanders fell under suspicion of collusion with the garrison and, on the Sultan's having personally come to take the charge of siege operations, they were held in Hanumantgadh, The siege of Narwar lasted for six months more, The shortage of supplies consequent upon a siege lasting for more than an year led to the capture of the fort in 1508 A.D. The Muslim historians ~~also~~ do not speak anything beyond this event. However, Khuman Raso says that Babbar Khan Mughal sought the hand of the beautiful daughter of Mahim Shah, a Mahajan chief minister of the former Hindu ruler. Neither could Mahim Shah consent to this proposal due to his religious scruples nor could he refuse due to safety considerations. So he made a false promise to the Khan and soon escaped to Mewar. The extradiction request of the imperialists was turned down by Sanga. This precipitated a war in which the army of the Sultan of Delhi was defeated and the imperial music band was wrested[10]. The possibility of Sher Khan's leading the forces of Delhi Sultan against Sanga in the Battle of Bakrol is enhanced by the fact that Jalal, a fellow-prisoner along with him in Hanumantgadh, was freed by 1508 A.D. as his assignment to protect and aid ~~Mhomed~~ Muhammad of Malwa suggests[11].

Gopaldas,the great grandson of Chunda, was killed in this battle[12]. Soon after this victory, Nawrwar fell in the hands of Sanga.[13]

Conquests of Ajmer and Toda:-

The conquest of Narwar was followed by the conquest of Ajmer[14] and the bestowal of Badnor on Karamchand Pawar[15]. An attack on Toda was also made. Sanga was opposed here by Udai Karan, the younger brother of Rao Surtan. It appears that at the approach of the Sisodia army the Solankis left Toda. The battle took place beyond the skirts of the other side of the city. The Solankis were defeated[16].

Sanga's Help to Raimal s/o Rao Surajmal of Idar:-

Rao Bhana of Idar[17] had two sons - Surajmal and Bhim[18]. Rao Bhim, who had usurped the throne of Idar[19] died in 1514 A.D.[20], leaving his son Bharmal to succeed him[21]. Raimal s/o Surajmal sought help from Sanga[22], his father-in-law, who came to Idar in Nov.-Dec. 1514 A.D.[23] The fort of Idar was captured[23], Bharmal was expelled[24] and the country was handed over to Raimal[25]. Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat, was at that time at Dhar in Malwa[26]. On learning about these developments he was much surprised at the audacity of the Rana to aid Raimal and oust Bharmal[27], as Idar was regarded by the Sultan as falling within the orbit of the authority of Gujarat[28]. So Muzaffar returned to Gujarat.[29]

Meanwhile in 1515 A.D. Bharmal sought the help of the Sultan against the Rana[30]. Muzaffar Shah deputed Nizamulmulk, the fief-holder of Ahmadnagar, to reinstate Bharmal in his father's place[31].

On his way to Idar, Nizamulmulk met Bharmal and both returned to Ahmedabad[32]. Probably, Bharmal explained the situation to the commander who seems to have realized that there was no chance of success with the help of the forces at his disposal[33]. So both returned to the court. They accompanied the Sultan upto Pattan, where Nizamulmulk got leave for the second time to proceed against Idar[33], possibly with a bigger army. Nizamulmulk captured Idar and placed Bharmal on the throne[34]. ~~Bharmal~~ Raimal betook himself to the hills of Bijayanagar[334], the place where his ancestor Punja had sought refuge against Ahmad Shah[35]. Nizamulmulk at his own initiative[36] pursued him there and in an action[37] both the parties suffered heavily[38]. Many best amirs and a Muslim general lost their lives in this battle[39]. Though it is claimed by Tabkat-i Akbari[40] that this battle was indecisive, Farishta[41] frankly admits the defeat of the Gujaratis. Muzaffar Shah disapproved this precipitate action[41], which, according to the Sultan, was unnecessary after the recovery of Idar[42]. Nizamulmulk was recalled[43] on that very day[44] for having exceeded his instructions[45]. On his return Muzaffar scolded him[46] severely[47] for the unnecessary loss of a number of Muslim soldiers[48]. The clashes between the forces of Gujarat and Raimal continued till 1517 A.D. with varying fortunes and Muzaffar Shah failed in dislodging Raimal from the country.[49] Even the personal visit of Muzaffar Shah to Idar on the plea of a hunting expedition failed to improve the situation[50]. In

1517 A.D. on account of illness of Nizamulmulk, Nasirulmulk was appointed to relieve the former[51]. However, Nizamulmulk left Idar before the arrival of his successor by leaving the charge in the hands of Jahirulmulk with a small army under his command[51]. Raimal swooped upon Idar and cut off Jahirulmulk along with 200 men[52]. The Gujaratis were beaten[53]. This defeat led Muzaffar Shah to order Nasarulmulk to devastate the area of Idar as far as Bijanagar, the nest of the rebels[54]. The fighting went on[55]. In 1518 A.D. Raimal attacked Gilwara and the country of Pattan. Nasaratulmulk, though successful in repelling the enemy, failed to crush him[56]. In 1519 A.D. Muzaffar proceeded against Raimal's protector, Rawal Udai Singh Sisodia of Wagad and devastated his country[57]. and then proceeded to Idar[58] but returned without any substantial results against Raimal[59]. So Nizam Khan, the Rustam of the age, was appointed as thanedar of Idar, much against the wishes of the ministers of the state[60].

Defeat of Anti-Mewar Rajput Confederacy:-

The conquest of Sambhar[61] by Sanga from Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Mandu[62], possibly, offended the ~~Solankis~~ Rathors of Marwar. This coupled with the defeat of the Solankis of Toda, provoked the other rulers of Rajputana into hostilities with Mewar. Consequently, Bharmal of Idar, Prithviraj of Dungarpur, Jaimal of Banswada, Surajmal of Deolia and either of Rao Ganga or his grandfather Suja of Marwar[63] formed a confederacy against Mewar. Sanga faced them in a battlefield and defeated them. The vanquished were restored to their respective thrones[64]. Though the exact year of this battle cannot be ascertained

it can be said that it occurred after the partition of Wagad into Banswada and Dungarpur, ~~i.e.,~~ between 1514-18 A.D.[65]

Conquest of Mandu by Muzaffar Shah:-

During these days Medini Rai made himself the de facto sovereign of Malwa[66]. So Habib Khan of Ashtanagar, Shaikh Hamid of Bhilsa and many others fled Mandu to the court of Sultan Muzaffar. These refugees appealled to the Sultan in the name of Islam to put to an end the excesses of the infidels on the faithfuls in Malwa[67]. They suggest--ed that there was a great possibility of the imprisonment or blinding or assassination of Sultan Mahmud Khilji[68] w who was then completely in the hands of his powerful Rajput minister, Medini Rai[69]. Muzaffar Shah promised to march against the infidels at the end of the monsoons[70]. Meanwhile, Mahmud Khilji made good his escape from Mandu to Gujarat with the aid of a Rajput Krishna of Kharad[71] but not without the connivance of Medini Rai[72]. Muzaffar sent royal peraphernalia for the use of Mahmud along with Qaiser Khan, Taj Khan and Qawamulmulk[73] on Nov.16, 1517 A.D. and himself left Ahmedabad on Nov.18[74] with 30,000 soldiers and 50 war-elephants[75] to wage a religious war on the infidels of Malwa[76]. A meeting between Mahmud and Muzaffar took place at Devlah[77] on Dec.29[78] in which the latter reiterated his promise to wipe off the Purbias from Malwa and reinstate Mahmud on his ancestral throne[79]. Both the Sultans marched together upto Dhar[80]. The report of this meeting and about the military preparedness of Muzaffar on reaching Medini Rai through hisspies unnerved him.[81] He was already kept posted with all the

developments since the welcome of Sultan Mahmud by Qaiser Khan etc., on behalf of Muzaffar Shah[82]. So Medini Rai left Rai Pithora, Bhim Karan, Said Khan, Budhan, Ganga and Ugrasen to defend the fort of Mandu[83], and himself left for Dhar with 20,000 strong and some elephants for strengthening its fortifications[84] as well as to oppose the invaders[85]. When the Gujaratis were near Dhar (about Jan.1,1518 Q.D.[86]) the personal observation[87] and the account of the invading forces by the spies further discouraged Medini Rai[88]. So just before the arrival of the Muslim army near Dhar[89], he burnt his camp[90] and along with Silhadi[91] and some thousand Rajputs[91], he left Dhar for Jaipur[92] to secure aid from the Rana[93]; but not without sending 5,000 cavalry and 10,000 foot consisting of bowmen, musketeers and artillerymen to Mandu[94] and committing the defence of Dhar to the remaining forces[95]. The garrison of Dhar let the fort fall into the hands of the invaders[96]. On Jan.2,1518 A.D. Muzaffar reached Mandu[97]. After several bloodly and costly initial skirmishes[98], during the first two days[99], the Sultan proceeded to prepare his batteries for investing the fort[100]. The siege of Mandu began on Jan.6,1518 A.D.[101] The fall of Dhar had already demoralized the defenders[102] and the artillery of Gujarat on the first day of the siege appreciably weakened the walls[103], if not breached them.

At this moment Medini Rai sent a word to his son Bhao Rao, one of the leaders of the garrison of Mandu[104], to negotiate and obtain a month's delay to enable him to

bring succour from Mewar to the aid of the defenders[105]. On Jan.8,1518 A.D. Rao Rao Bhao Rao and others opened negotiations through Q Qaiser Khan and Khudawand Khan[106]. The terms offered were to surrender the fort[107] after evacuating it in a month's time[108] and to enter into the service of the Sultan[109] in exchange for 14 paraganas[110] and an ass assurance of p their personal safety[111]. It was emphasised that during the period of suspension of the hostilities the siege was to be raised for facilitating the evacuation of their families from the fort[112]. Muzaffar, in spite of the knowledge of the treacherous intentions of the garrison to play for time through these faked talks[113], consented to these terms due to his kind-heartedness[114] and solicitude for the safety of the family and relatives of Sultan Mahmud in the fort of Mandu[115]. Suspension of hostilities for one month was granted[116]. Medini Rai was informed and requested to expedite the aid[117]. As the deadline of the month's time granted for handing over the fort over to Muzaffar Shah arrived, Bhao Rao requested for an extension of the time-limit which was granted. The garrison further requested for the withdrawal of the Muslim army to some distance from the fort which also the Sultan accepted in the midst of the protests of the nobles[118]. The besiegers fell back by 6 miles[119]. During these days the Sultan suspected some foul play on the part of the garrison due to the frequent entries of elephants into the fort which did not return[120]. About this time Adil Shah Asiri arrived with reinforcements. Meanwhile reports reached the Sultan about the approach of

the Rana[121]. On the advice of Medini Rai, the garrison solicited the Sultan for a slight extension in the time-limit of surrendering the fort, which Muzaffar Shah not only refused but also ordered for the resumption of the hostilities[122]. The reinforcements under Adil Shah Asiri[123] had already enhanced the offensive power of the invaders. So 20 days after their withdrawal from the fort[124], the invaders returned to the base of the fort of Mandu and re-besieged it[125].

Medini Rai and Silhadi had fled to the Rana and solicited him to help them against the Muslim, he as being the natural leader of the Hindus; Medini Rai also offered to pay several elephants and valuable jems of the Sultans of Mandu to the Rana in lieu for the aid against the Gujaratis. Sanga simply made arrangements to take delivery of these articles at Sarangpur (50 miles north-east of Devas) and arrived there with a large army for it[126]. After presenting some elephants and much gold at Sarangpur, and by a promise of many more such presents, ~~Meei~~ Medini Rai induced the Rana to proceed upto Ujjain along with all the neighbouring zamindars with their armies[127]. Muzaffar, who was then re-attacking Mandu[128], detached Azam Humayun, Adil Khan Asiri and Qawamulmulk Sarang to oppose Sanga and exerted himself hard to reduce the fort[129]. An order was issued by the Sultan to the army to fight the infidels with all their heart and soul[130]. At mid-night on the 25th Feb.,1528 A.D.[131], the fifth day since the renewal of hostilities[132], through the treachery of a local man[133],

the Gujarat army succeeded in entering into the outer fort through a ruse. It being the day of Holi festival, the Hindus after hard fight through out the day and festivities upto mid-nightt, had retired thoroughly exhausted by mid-night[134], leaving the walls open for treachery. The Rajputs performed "Jauhar"[135]. Muzaffar Shah ordered a general massacre[136]. The number of Rajputs fallen in this engagement is computed at either 40,000[137] or 19,000[138] among whom were 59 officers of rank[139]. A tower of skull was built[140]. A great number of prisoners and untold wealth fell into the hands of the victors[141]. Muzaffar Shah lost 10,000 soldiers[142] in this siege which lasted from Jan.6 to Feb.25,1518 A.D.,i.e., for 50 days. The claim that Mahmud Khilji presented Muzaffar Shah with the belt and crown of Gujarat, brought to Malwa by Qutubuddin Khilji (1451 A.D.)[143], is wrong.

How is it that Sanga could not reach Mandu during these 50 days to relieve the garrison? Medini Rai was acquainted with the possibility of Musaffar's attack on Malwa since Nov.18,1517 A.D. He had left Dhar for Chittor about Jan.1, 1518 A.D., nearly a week before the beginning of the siege of Mandu (Jan.6,1518 A.D.). Were not 58 days enough to bring Sanga from Chittor to Mandu, a distance of about 250 miles, on the average rate of about 4 miles a day? And our suspicion deepens w hen Farishta[144] informs us that Sanga was not in Chittor during some of these days.

Battle of Ghatoli:-

This question cannot be answered without tracing the

events at Delhi following the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi on Nov.21,1517 A.D. The nobles of Delhi conspired to put Jalal on the throne of Jaunpur, which was opposed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Khan Jahan Luhani. A clash between Ibrahim and Jalal being imminent, Ibrahim imprisoned his remaining brothers in the fort of Hansi on Jan.7,1518 A.D., a day after the investment of the fort of Mandu by Muzaffar Shah, and moved out of Delhi to fight out his rival[145]. Jalal moved against Agra, entered into barren negotiations with its governor, Alam Khan, and fled to Gwalior when the armies of Ibrahim returned to the capital after conquering Kalpi. Ibrahim sent Sheikhzada Muhammad Farmuli to Chanderi to remain with Muhammad Khan Khilji of Malwa, imprisoned Mian Bhudat, a vazir of Sultan Sikandar Lodi for last 28 years, on the pretext of neglect of duties, and sent Aziz Muhammad Shirwani to Gwalior. The fort of Gwalir was besieged. Raja Man Singh of Gwalior died during the siege and was succeeded by his son Vikramaditya. Three month's siege could not achieve anything more than the capture of the outer fort of Badalgadh which rewarded the Muslims with a bronze bull, which was brought to Agra and ultimately placed at the Baghadad Gate in Delhi[145]. Where was Ibrahim Lodi at this time?

The mutual dissensions, feuds and fissiparous trends in the polity of Delhi consequent upon the demise of Sikandar offered a golden opportunity to Sanga. The despatch of Muhammad Farmuli and Aziz Muhammad Shirwani to Chanderi and Gwalior respectively, the unexpectedly and highly suspicious removal of Mian Bhudat from ministership and blowing him

up with other nobles by exploding a house[146] lead one to suspect some conspiracy involving them and Sanga[147]. Had they been pro-Lalalites the Muslim historians would have admitted it. Thus in all probability, about Jan.27 to Feb. 11, 1518 A.D. Ibrahim and Sanga faced each other somewhere while the lieutenants of Ibrahim were active at Chanderi and Gwalior. The Battle of Ghatoli (in Hadauti) between Ibrahim and Sanga[148] possibly, took place about Feb.15, 1518 A.D.[149] The battle lasted for about 6 hours[150] and crowned Sanga with success[151]. Sanga is said to have lost his one ~~leg~~ hand and received injury in one of his legs which left him a perpetual limper[152]. The view that Ibrahim fell captive in the hands of the Rana[153] ~~ies~~ is as absurd as that which holds that a Lodi prince was captured by the Rana in this battle[154].

With the laurels of the victory of Ghatoli on his brows, Sanga turned towards Malwa. When he reached Satang-pur, Sultan Muzaffar Shah received the intelligence of his arrival. Adil Khah Asiri and Azam Humayun were detached by Muzaffar from Mandu for opposing Sanga. By the time Sanga reached Ujjain the fort of Mandu fell into the hands of Muzaffar Shah.

Hemkaran Purbia and Budha[155] escaped from Mandu along with a son of Medini Rai[156] by ropes[157] and joined Sanga[158] near Ujjain[159]. Budha related the whole account of the fall of Mandu to Medini Rai[160] and died on the spot by the bursting of the wounds[161] through over-excitement[162]. Medini Rai lamented the captivity of his family-members and could be consoled with great difficulty by the Rana[163].

As there remained nothing now to be done as regards the relief of Mandu, Sanga deemed it necessary to return to Chittor[164] before Adil Khan Asiri, sent by Muzaffar to check the Rana, had gone beyond Dipalpur Banharia or Walabpur, 30 miles from Mandu[165], Medini Rai and Silhadi also accompanied the Rana[166]. Adil Khan could capture and kill some Rajput stragglers but the main army could not be overtaken[167]. On the second day after the fall of Mandu, i.e., Feb.26,1518 A.D., Muzaffar Shah also marched out of Mandu to oppose the Rana. When he reached Dhar, intelligence arrived at the royal camp from Adil Khan, then at Dipalpur, that Sanga, on learning about the arrival of the Muslim army, had fled precipitately, covering 54 miles in the first night[168]. Adil Khan requested the Sultan for permission to pursue the flying Rajputs[169]. However, the loss suffered by the Sultan in the siege of Mandu[170] and the absence of any perceptible gain in the solicited pursuit[171], caused the Sultan to order the return of Adil Khan ~~to return~~ to the royal camp with all his forces and join him[172]. Sanga returned to Chittor and proceeded thence to Jaipur[173]. On hearing this, Mahmud Khilji returned to Mandu along with Asaf Khan and other amirs at the head of 10,000 cavalry, assigned by Muzaffar Shah to rehabitate him in Malwa[174].

<u>Defeat of the Forces of Delhi</u> : <u>Battle of Dholpur</u>:-

Just about this time an army of 30,000 horse and 500 elephants, headed by Mian Makan, assisted by Hussain Khan Zasbaksha, Mian Khan Khanan Farmuli and Mian Maruf was sent by Ibrahim Lodi to attack Mewar[175]. When this army

reached Dholpur, Sanga came forward to oppose them[176], While encamped there Mian Makan received a confidential order from Ibrahim to seize Mian Maruf and Mian Hussain Khan and send them as prisoners to the capital[177]. Wasit due to their being in secret league with Sanga?[178] Mian Hussain, on learning about it, advised Mian Makan not to execute that order, the knowledge of which so much enraged Ibrahim that orders to arrest first Mian Hussain Khan were immediately issued. Finding himself in such a plight Mian Hussain Khan opened negotiations with Sanga, who, after ~~the~~ dispelling ~~of~~ his preliminary suspicions, entered into a compact which led to the desertion of Mian Hussain Khan to the Rajputs with 1,000 cavalry[179]. Sanga sent his nephew to lead Mian Hussain Khan into the Rajput ranks[180]. Mian Maruf refused to follow the example of Mian Hussain Khan. Meanwhile, Sanga advanced to give a battle to the imperialists. Mian Makan arrayed Said Khan Furat and Haji Khan with 7,000 horse on the right, Daud Khan, Alauddin Khan and Yusuf Khan on the left, and Mian Maruf and himself in the centre for the battle. It is contended that Mian Hussain Maruf not only remained neutral in this engagement due to his loyalty to Ibrahim[180] but also became instrumental in making Makan send a contingent of 6,000 cavalry to attack and put to flight the Rajputs in a midnight attack when the latter were celebrating their victory[181]. The Rana, it is claimed, was wounded, several of his ~~foo~~ followers were slaughtered and with great difficulty he escaped alive, leaving 15 elephants and 200 horse to the victors[182]. This view is contradicted by Tarikh-i Daudi which vouchs for the fact that Mian Hussain led the troops

on behalf of Sanga and chased the imperialists upto Biyana, a fact which even alarmed Ibrahim to such an extent that he had personally to move forward upto river (Piliakhah?) to put courage into the heart of his troops[183]. Sanga captured Chanderi from the officers of Malwa and Delhi[184] by pressing on his advantage. The Rana bestowed Chanderi on Medini Rai[185], who, in his turn appears to have left the command of the fort in the hands of Chakrasen Khichi[186].

Defeat, Captivity and Release of Sultan Mahmud Khilji:-

Smarting under the loss of the fort of Chanderi and Gagrun to Medini Rai, and of Bhilsa, Raisin and Sarangpur to Silhadi[187], Sultan Mahmud Khilji, soon after his entry in Malwa, summoned his nobles with their armies to Mandu[188]. With "the concurrence and advice" of and "in concert with Asaf Khan"[189], the Sultan, at the head of his nobles and their armies, attacked Gagrun, held by Hemkaran[190] on behalf of Medini Rai[191]. Hem Karan was killed[192]. On learning about the attack on Gagrun, Medini Rai requested the Rana for aid against the Sultan. The request was not unmixed with a pathetic retort suggesting that he had sought the the kingdom of Malwa with the help of the Rana but was now reduced to the depth where his own possessions stood the danger of falling into the hands of the enemy[193]. He further informed Sanga that all his wealth lay in the fort of Gagrun[193]. Sanga marched out of Chittor with all his nobles[193] and 50,000 soldiers[194] to the relief of Gagrun[195]. On learning about his arrival,

Mahmud Khilji raised the siege and advanced to meet him. After a tiresome journey of one whole day the Sultan encamped about 14 miles off the Rajput camp[196]. The Rana availed of this situation and fell upon the Malwa camp in night. Stupified by surprise and paralysed by fatigue the Muslims ran to arms in great disorder. The small parties in which they rode out to oppose the Rajputs were cut down almost to man. In this ~~way~~ great battle the Muslims were completely defeated[197]. 32 nobles of the court of Mandu, including Asaf Khan's son[198] and 500 horsemen, were killed[199]. Mahmud, though wounded and left only with 10 followers[200], fought bravely and cheered his soldiers to die a martyr's death[201]. Enveloped with 50 wounds, he fell from his horse[202]. He was surrounded by a Rajput company[203] and captured by Rao Narayandas of Bundi[204] when the Sultan lay weltering in blood[205]. The royal captive was carried to the Rana who removed him to his own tent where his wounds were nursed[206]. The Rana marched upon Mandu[207]. On hearing about this defeat and captivity of his protigee Sultan Mahmud, Muzaffar Shah sent an army to defend the fort of Mandu[208] and himself proceeded to the frontiers of Malwa[209]. On learning about these developments the Rana turned back[210] and taking the wounded royal prisoner/along with him returned to Chittor[211]. At Chittor the victorious Rana held a magnificent "darbar" on the banks of Ratanesar tank to celebrate this victory. Gifts were distributed. One Mahapa Jaitawat, the ancestor of Kaviraja Shyamaldas, received the village of Dhokalia on this occasion[212]. The Rana was beside himself with joy

to such an extent that he gifted away the whole kingdom of Mewar to Charan Hardas, who politely declined the magnificent offer in favour of 12 villages[213]. Mahmud remained captive for some time in Chittor in Padmani's palace[214] in chains[215]. Muzaffar wrote a letter to Sanga in protest.[216] This active step on behalf of Mahmud by Muzaffar compelled the Rana to release the Sultan on his surrendering the belt and the crown of the Sultans of Gujarat[217] and on leaving his son as hostage with the Rana for future good behaviour[218]. It is not improbable that Mahmud had also to surrender some districts of Malwa to obtain his release[219]. At the time of his release he was dressed in female attires and made to wear bangles before his departure[220]. An army of 10,000 cavalry was sent along with him to Mandu,[221] possibly, to expel the Gujarat army from Mandu by some strategum short of war, which did not succeed. The nursing of the wounded Sultan and his return to Mandu (though not without insults and price) have received a high praise even from the Muslim historians.[222] It was not a piece of blind Rajput chivalry but a calculated political move. Had Mahmud been not restored to his kingdom, there was a genuine fear of a coalition of Gujarat, Delhi and other Muslim states of the neighbourhood being formed to revenge this national humiliation to the Muslim arms[223]. Muzaffar, who had proceeded to the Malwa borders, remained there for some time till the year 1520 A.D.[224] This is a sure clue to holding that the Battle of Gagrun and the captivity of Mahmud took place about the close of the second half of 1519 A.D.

Sanga's Expedition into Gujarat:-

Sanga's successful intervention in Idar on behalf of Raimal in 1515 A.D. and Muzaffar Shah's intervention in Malwa on behalf of Mahmud Khilji in 1518 A.D. had already strained the relations between Gujarat and Mewar. Muzaffar's protest to Sanga against the captivity of Mahmud in 1519 A.D. and his garrisoning of Mandu to save it from falling in the hands of Mewar had offended the Rana beyond measure. Expecting some trouble in Idar Sanga had already summoned Rao Ganga of Marwar through Bhursi Balawat[225]. Meanwhile in 1520 A.D. in an altercation[226] with a Rajput bard for praising Sanga in the presence of Nizam Khan, the Khan insulted Sanga and tied a cur to the gate of Idar after christianing it Rana Sanga[227]. The Rana was highly incensed on learning about it in Chittor from that bard[228]. He left his capital and encamped outside the fort as a sign of his determination to avenge the insult as early as possible[228]. It is not unlikely that Kiwamulmulk and Malik Gopi, the ministers of Muzaffar Shah, also intrigued with the Rana to attack Gujarat.[229] The Rana pillaged the area upto Sirohi[230]. The ministers, wishing to ruin Nizam Khan, did not let any aid to Idar on the plea that Sanga had returned to Chittor[231]. The Rana reappeared soon in Wagad[232]. Rawal Udai Singh, so far submissive to Gujarat, accompanied him and both descended into Idar via ~~Sirohi~~ Dungarpur[233] with 40,000 cavalry[234]. Nizamulmulk was terrified[235]. He informed the Sultan of these events[236] and also of the inadequacy of his own forces as even the ordinary strength of his army of 5,000

strong was much reduced because of several of the soldiers having left for Ahmedabad[237] due to heavy rains that year[238]. Unfortunately, Muzaffar was then on Malwa borders[239] and the army of Gujarat was dispersed for monsoon camping[240]. The ministers failed to forward the application to Muzaffar[241] and when finally they did it was not without their adverse comments on his conduct in wontonly insulting the Rana and then coming crying for help[242] before the enemy actually appeared on the scene[243]. The scattered forces of Gujarat could not also be collected immediately[244]; so the despatch of relief to Idar was postponed till the end of monsoons[245]. Sanga was well posted with these developments[246]. He advanced near Idar[247]. Nizam, though numerically weak, came forward to oppose him but was compelled to retire into the fort without any fight[248]. Next day he declared himself for an open engagement and made himself bold to die in the battlefield sword in hand[249]. However, the council of war consisting of his followers[250], knowing well that 900 Gujarat army was no match to Rajputs 40,000 in number, after a futile attempt to convince Nizam took him away forcibly to Ahmedanagar[251]. Only Malik Sajan managed to remain behind with a small following[252]. Next day the Rana reached Idar[253]. Sajan made an attack, fought bravely and was cut off with all his followers[254].

On his way back to Ahmadnagar, Nizam met Khizr Khan, Asad Khan, Ghazi Khan, Shujaulmulk and Saifulmulk, who rebuked him for deserting Idar to the enemy for the safety of the walls of Ahmadnagar[255]. Sanga, on reaching Idar,

learnt from the Grasias (i.e., Rajput irregulars) in the service of Kiwamulmulk that Nizam, now Mubarizulmulk, was forcibly removed to Ahmadnagar and was awaiting reinforcements there[256]. So the Rana marched on Ahmadnagar[257] and reached there one day after Mubarizulmulk[258]. The above referred to bard went to Mubariz and informed him of Sanga's determination to water his horse in the ditch below the fort of Ahmadnagar. To prevent it Mubariz came out to oppose the Rajputs[259] on the other bank of the moat[260]. A great battle took place[261]. The Gujarat army fought bravely[262] but was defeated and put to flight[263]. Asad Khan[264], Ghazi Khan, Sultan Khan and Ibrahim Khan were killed[265]; Safdar Khan and Nizam Khan[266] and others were wounded[267]. 3,000 soldiers lost their lives[268], Few escaped from being wounded[269]. The survivors fled to the fort which had already fallen into the hands of the Rajputs[269], a fact which conclusively proves that the Rana had attacked simultanesouly the fort also with 20,000 strong while engaging the army of Mubariz.[270] Chauhan Dungarsi Balawat's son Kanha, by covering the red hot spikes of the gate of the fort with his own person to let the elephant act by its forehead, got the fort for the Rana[271]. The remnants of the Gujarat army finding the fort in the enemy hands fled away[272]. 7,000 Rajputs fell in these engagements[273]. Nizam Khan and Safdar Khan fled to Parantij, 15 miles from Ahmadnagar, by a round about route[274]. Asadulmulk and others took the direct road, got killed by the pursuing Rajputs and their baggage and elephants were captured[275]. The Rajputs looted the

city[276] and its enviorns[277]. All the inhabitants,[278] including the daughters and other female relatives of of Shaikhs and other respectable persons, were taken captive[279]. The advice ~~of~~ to attack Ahmedabad, 100 miles from Ahmadnagar, was prudently rejected by the Rana[280]. The Rajputs stayed in Ahmadnagar for one day[281]. Next day they proceeded against the merchants of Badnagar[282] at the instance of the Gujarati Grasias[283]. However, the entreaties of the Brahmins secured safety for the town from plunder[284] in exchange for some tribute[285]. Besalnagar was next attacked[286]. Though the officer in charge of the place fled away to the citadel, the garrison defended the city well till evening[287]. About this time Malik Hakim, the thanedar, was killed[288], causing turmoil in the rank of the defenders, which offered an opportunity to the Rajputs to plunder the town[289]. However, in night Ainulmulk and Fatah Khan, governor of Pattan, were reported approaching Besalnagar[290]. So Sanga kept his Rajputs under arms through out the night and in the early morning he withdrew[290] and reached Chittor[291] unopposed[292] via Idar[293] with all elephants[294], horses and captives[295].

On the day of the Battle of Ahmadnagar, Kiwamulmulk, the governor of Ahmedabad[296] andthe viceroy of Gujarat during the absence of Musaffar Shah[297], had started for the aid of Mubarizulmulk[298]. When he reached Walad, 14 miles from Ahmedabad, he learnt about the fall of Ahmadnagar[298]. The rumour about the deaths of Mubarizulmulk and Safdar Khan, then very hot, were communicated to the Sultan by the viceroy[298]. On the third day the repport ~~of their~~

of their having reached Rupal (District Kari) safely was received[298]. Before the plan that Kiwamulmulk and Mubarizulmulk should pursue the Rana could materialise, the news of the safe-reaching of the Rajput army to Chittor was received[298].

On the 16th day after ~~afte~~ the Battle of Ahmadnagar,[299] Mubarizulmulk[300] and the author of Bahadur Shahi[301] came to that city with an army provided by Kiwamulmulk[302]. They buried the dead,[303] stayed for one night in the fort[304] and returned to Parantij[305]. The news of Sultan's sending a large army under Imadulmulk and Kaiser Khan[306] with 100 elephants[307] reached them here[308]. The army arrived at Ahmedabad[308] and proceeded to Parantij[309] after joining Kiwamulmulk at Walod[310]. They sought the permission of the Sultan to attack Chittor[311] to punish the Rana[312]. The Sultan, not willing to abandon Ahmadnagar[313], ordered them to stay there during the monsoon[314], then either at hand[315] or had already set in[316], at the end of which he was himself to lead an attack on Mewar[317]. Orders to summon Malik Ayaz from Sorath were also issued[318].

Siege of Mandsaur by Malik Ayaz:-

After the end of the monsoon Muzaffar called all his amirs[319]. The pay of the army was increased and one year salary was paid in advance[320] for helping soldiers in their accoutrement[321]. In Sept. 1520 A.D. Muzaffar left Muhammadabad[322] with the intention of marching upon Chittor[323] and reached Ahmedabad[324] via Halol[325]. At this time Malik Ayaz waited upon the Sultan with 20,000 soldiers, several artillery-men and cannons[326]. He made a

pointed reference to the impropriety of Sultan's personal expedition against Mewar[327] and offered himself for it but the request was not acceded to[328]. In Dec. 1520 A.D. when Muzaffar Shah was reviewing his army at Ahmadnagar, Malik Ayaz repeated the request[329] with an added pleasing promise to either capture or kill the Rana[330]. The permission was granted[331]. An army consisting of a lakh cavalry and a hundred elephants was placed under his charge to which Kiwamulmulk joined later on with 20,000 cavalry and 20 elephants[332]. At Morasa the reinforcements under Taj Khan and Nizamulmulk Sultani joined them[333]. Due to jealousy[334] Ayaz returned most of the elephants and a great part of the recent reinforcements[335] and after plundering the country of Morasa[336] advanced upon Dahal or Dhol[337]. Foraging parties ravaged Wagad[338]. Safdar Khan brought several Rajput prisoners after killing many at Lakiakot[339]. Banswada[340] and Dungarpur[341] were also plundered and burnt[342] for their ruler's complicity with Sanga in the invasion of Gujarat[343]. An attempt at ambush by the Rajputs was foiled[344] and the country around was devasted in punishment by Kiwamulmulk[345]. The Gujarat forces passed through Kharchi Ghat[346] and by forced marches[347] reached Mandsaur[348] and besieged it[349]. Rao Ashokalmal[350](Rawar), the ancestor of the House of Bijolian[351], was then the commandant of Mandsaur on behalf of Sanga[352].

Built by Hushang Shah of Mandu[353], the then fort of Mandsaur was one of the strongest forts of Mewar on the Malwa borders. On learning about its siege by Malik Ayaz, Sanga came to oppose him with a large army and halted at

Nadisi, 20 miles from Mandsaur[354]. Tabkat-i Akbari[355] informs us that Sanga opened negotiations with the Malik, informed him about the despatch of Rajput envoys to Muzaffar Shah and begged him to raise the siege which the Malik politely refused and went on with his operations till the undermining of the walls was almost complete[356]. Mirat-i Sikandari[357] says that Sanga promised Ayaz to return all the loot (wealth and animals) and captives obtained by him from Ahmadnagar and other cities and offeredto submission to the Sultan as a price for the raising of the siege. These terms, according to Farishta[358], being too extravagant, were rejected. The Arabic History of Gujarat[359], on the other hand, accuses Ayaz of opening faked negotiations with Sanga to gain time to run mines under the walls of the fort. These negotiations, however, benefitted Sanga whose ~~postion~~ position at this moment was not enviable. There had been appreciable accretion to the strength of the army of the Malik at this time due to the joining of the Malwa ~~forces~~ forces[360]. The position of Sanga was so weak and uncertain that Silhadi, his relative, was wavefing in his loyalty to the Rana[361]. So gaining time through these negotiations he gathered the neighbouring rulers to his side and also won over Silhadi to his cause[362]. This balanced the might of both the parties. None could not risk war with the other[363]. However, the siege of Mandsaur went on[364].

Kiwamulmulk succeeded in carrying Sabat, a covered-way near the wall of the fort[365] and his battery[366] might have breached the walls[367]. According to Tabkat-i Akbari, he

wished to enter into the fort[366] but for the jealousy of Ayaz[367], who, to disappoint Kiwamulmulk[368], not only did not allow him to deliver the attack[369] but also withdrew the army[370]. Aggrieved[371] and offended[372] Mubarizulmulk and others took battle positions without any orders from Ayaz[373] but were informed by the Malik[374] through Malik Tughlaq Shah Fauladi[375] to withdraw[376]; and the amirs obeyed due to the apprehension of the displeasure of the Sultan[377]. Later on Ayaz ignited a mine[378] against the advice of the amirs[379]. However, the Rajputs had already built up another wall within[380]. So the attack failed[381]. Next day,[382] when Sanga made fresh proposals for peace[383], Ayaz, on account of the hostility of the amirs to his leadership[384] and to disappoint Kiwamulmulk and others[385], accepted the terms which stipulated for the return of all elephants[386] and sending of a son by the Rana in the service of the Sultan[387]. One of the most potent reason in forcing Ayaz to enter into this treaty was the fact of the heavy losses suffered by the Gujarat army in the Rajput night-attcks[388]. A cease-fire was agreed upon till the final orders from the Sultan[389].

The anti-Ayaz party planned to attack Sanga under Sultan Mahmud Khilji[390]. The plan failed. The attachment of Mahmud to Ayaz[391], the release by Sanga of the prince-royal of Malwa till for a hostage in Mewar[391], and the admonition of the Malik made Mahmud sign a secret treaty[392] promising tribute to the Rana[393]. On the day appointed for the attack[394], Malik Ayaz made peace with the Rana[395] and withdrew to Khiljipur[396], possibly, with the concurrence

of Muzaffar Shah[397]. The other amirs, "vexed" and "mortified" but helpless, returned to Ahmedabad[398]. There is nothing on record to show that the Malik brought any tribute from the Rana to the Sultan in pursuance of the treaty referred to above.

When Ayaz reached the court he was rewarded with a title and the governorship of Sorath[399]. He was ordered to return from his fief after the monsoons with an army[400], when Muzaffar was himself to lead an expedition against Mewar[401] to plunder Sanga's territories[402]. Ayaz informed Sanga about these plans[403] secretly[404] and advised him to send the stipulated tribute[405] through a prince of Mewar[406]. In Dec.1521 A.D. Muzaffar visited Ahmedabad to complete his preparations for attacking Chittor[407] and then moved to Kankaria[408]. During his stay there for three days[409] news was received that Sanga's son, who had been sent with some presents, elephants, horses and other tribute[410], had arrived at Morasa[411]. The idea of invading Mewar had to be given up[412]. The prince waited upon the Sultan[412] at Ahmedabad[413], received a robe of honour[414] and succeeded in his mission of achieving friendship between the two sovereigns of Mewar and Gujarat[415]. Muzaffar Shah forgave Sanga[416]. During his brief stay upto the end of monsoons[417], the prince accompanied the Sultan in hunting excursions[418]. The prince again received a robe of honour[419] and leave to depart to his father[420] (about Oct.-Nov. 1522 A.D.).

It is a pity that the native chroniclers of Mewar are completely silent about this expedition of Malik Ayaz and his siege of Mandsaur which in reality failed. Reading the between the lines of the Muslim accounts we find that:-

(1) The negotiations were started by Malik Ayaz to get time to run mines into the walls of the fort[421];

(2) These negotiations offered a welcome opportunity to Sanga to consolidate his otherwise shaky position[422];

(3) The assault of the Gujarat army on the fort of Mandsaur failed[423];

(4) Taking advantage of this disappointment Sanga made overtures to Malik Ayaz to conclude a peace[424], not much honourable to the invaders;

(5) The fear of defeat due to the non-cooperation of his colleagues[425] and the heavy losses inflicted by the ~~Rajp~~Rajputs by their night attacks[426] compelled Ayaz to accept these terms with full authorization from, and knowledge of, Muzaffar Shah[427];

(6) Sultan Mahmud could escape to Mandu only after signing a treaty promising tribute to the Rana[428];

(7) The services of Ayaz in extricating the Gujarat army from this great crisis were rewarded with a title and and governorship[429];

(8) After the end of the monsoons Muzaffar made fresh preparations for attacking Mewar but, on being informed secretly by Malik Ayaz, the Rana won over Muzaffar Shah by friendly gestures[430]; and

(9) It is not unlikely that the Rana bribed Malik Ayaz.

Sanga and Malwa After 1520 A.D. :-

In 1520 A.D. Sanga had returned Sultan Mahmud to Mandu after releasing him from the captivity in Chittor and had him escorted to his capital with 10,000 Rajputs. Sultan

Muzaffar had consoled Mahmud[430] and sent a large reinforcement to Mandu for stablizing the latter's position in ~~Mandu~~ Malwa. When his position appeared somewhat improved Mahmud requested Muzaffar Shah to withdraw Gujarat troops from Malwa[431]. The return of these forces from Mandu, made the weakness of Mahmud patent to all. Sanga seized most of the portion of his kingdom. Silhadi carved out an independent estate which included Sarangpur, Raisin and Bhilsa[432] while Medini Rai retained Chanderi and Gagrun[433]. Only one-tenth of Malwa was left under Mahmud and the rest was either in the hands of the Rajputs or other Muslim nobles[434]. Taking advantage of this situation, Sanga captured Ranthambhor from the officers of Malwa[435] between Sept. - Nov.,1521 A.D.[436] However, inspite of increase of this great influence and power in Malwa, Sanga again refrained from annexing the entire kingdom due to the fear of the possible intervention of Muzaffar Shah[437].

Arrival of Bahadur Khan s/o Muzaffar Shah in Mewar:-

The request for an increase in jagir equal to his half brother Sikandar Khan[438] and the denunciation of the ill-treatment received by him at the hands of his father Muzaffar Shah[439] created a suspicion about the safety of Bahadur Khan. So he fled Gujarat with the help of his friends and well-wishers[440]. He left for Dungarpur[441] in second or third week of May 1525 A.D.[442], where Rawal Udai Singh of Wagad welcomed him[443]. Thence Bahadur proceeded to Chittor (via Banswada[444]) where Sanga treated him well[445]. Bahadur stayed in Chittor for some

time[446]. There was some trouble during a dance-party by a beauty originally a daughter of some Sheikh of Ahmadnagar, whom Sanga had brought to Chittor during his invasion of Gujarat. A rude reference to her parentage by a nephew of the Rana excited Bahadur to cut him into two. The fugitive prince would have been sliced into bits[446] but for the intervention of Rani Dhan Bai Rathor, the mother of Ratan Singh[447], who shielded Bahadur by threatening to lodge a dagger into her heart if her 'son' Bahadur was in any way hurt[448]. The Rana also excused the immoderate behaviour of Bahadur. Bahadur left Chittor and via Ajmer and Mewat reached Delhi some time before the Battle of Panipat[449].

Sanga's Help to Bahadur Khan in Getting the Throne of Gujarat:-

Soon after the departure of Bahadur from Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah died on Feb.24,1526 A.D.[450] The nobles - Imadulmulk Sistani, Khudawand Khan and Fath Khan (s/o Fath Khan)-placed the heir-designate Sikandar Khan, the seventh son of Muzaffar Shah on the throne[451]. Latif Khan, his younger brother, rebelled and fled to Chittor[452]. Malik Latif who was sent with 3,000 cavalry to pursue him[453], without orders followed him into the jungles of Mewar[454] and got killed[455], along with 1,200 followers[456], including several noted chiefs of the state[457], in a narrow pass[458] by the Rajputs[459]. The baggage of this army was looted[460] after this complete defeat of the Gujarat arms[461]. Sikandar was soon murdered by Imadulmulk[462], who placed Nasir Khan, a boy of six and the youngest son of Muzaffar

Shah[463], on the throne under the name of Sultan Mahmud[464] and himself became the de facto sovereign of Gujarat[465]. Taj Khan[466] and Khudawand Khan[467] at the instigation of the author of Bahadur Shahi[468], secretly wrote to Bahadur Khan to return to Gujarat to assume the Kingdom of his ancestors.[469] Imadulmulk in despair sought help of Imadulmulk of Elichpur[470], Nizamulmulk Dekani[471], Rawal Udai Singh of Nagad,[472] Rana Sanga of Chittor[473] and Emperor Babar of Delhi[474]. Many soldiers of Gujarat fled to Chittor[475]. When Bahadur reached in the neighbourhood of Chittor they acquainted him with all the details of the assassination of Sikandar Shah[475]. Thence Bahadur encamped at Chittor[476]. Ali Sahir ibn Muinuddin Afgan[477], Ibrahim and Chand Khan, the sons of Muzaffar Shah, met him in Chittor[478] and confirmed these details about the death of Sikandar[479]. Soon after his arrival in Chittor, Bahadur left for Gujarat with Ibrahim Khan[480], while Chand Khan remained at Chittor[481]. Bahadur passed through Dungarpur[482] due to the good will of Rawal Udai Singh.[483] The refusal of ~~help by~~ Sanga to help Imadulmulk had already numbered the days of his predominence. Bahadur easily acquired the throne of Gujarat after some preliminary skirmishes[484]. What could Sanga have not done for Imadulmulk, and what harm could the Rana have not done to Bahadur when on his way to Gujarat via Chittor had the Rana desired? So it is difficult to deny the contribution of Sanga to Bahadur's acquisition of the throne of Gujarat, however imperceptible and indirect it may be. Possibly, Dhan Bai Rathor, the godmother of Bahadur in Chittor, might have had some say in inducing Sanga to help her 'son' in acquiring the throne

of Gujarat. About April 1526 A.D.[485] Sanga sent his son[486] Vikramjit with presents to Bahadur Shah[487], possibly, to congratulate him on his accession[488]. The prince had an audience with Bahadur Shah at Ahmedabad[489]. Vikrajit was well received by the Sultan during his stay in Gujarat[490]. About Sept.-Oct. 1526 A.D. (i.e., after the end of the monsoons)[491] he got leave to depart[492].

Other Conquests of Sanga:-

Nensi speaks of the victory of Rana Sanga over Baghela ruler/Raja Muchukund of Bandhogadh (in Baghelkhand) in which the Raja lost the battle and elephants to the Rana[493]. It is claimed that Sanga also received obedience from the ruler of Gondwana[494], the country between Mewar and Baghelkhand. Rampur, referred to in Amar Kavya[495], is not Rampura (ancient Antari of Chundawats) but Rampur in Orissa[496], which then formed a part of Gondwana. Similarly, Nagor of Amar Kavya[497] might be the city of this name on 24°33' Lat. 80°37' Long. The rulers of Choragadh and Devagadh are also reported to have lost about 350 elephants to Sanga[498]. The loss of elephants by Muchukund and the chieftains of Choragadh and Devagadh to Sanga can help one to infer that the need of strong elephants , which were bred in those days in the jungles of Gondwana[499] and Baghelakhand, might have precipitated war between Sanga and Muchukund.

The great eminence of Sanga in Malwa, Rajputana, Gujarat and Delhi,possibly,led the rulers of Amarkot and Kachchh to propitiate his pleasure by presents and honeyed

words which Amar Kavya had treated as marks of submission. However, it cannot be denied that Sanga had succeeded in consolidating his position so strongly and soundly in and about Rajputana that in one way or the other all the contemporary Rajput rulers accepted his leadership, though it might fall very short of submission ~~with~~ which Amar Kavya tries to make out of it.

Position of Sanga on the Eve of the Battle of Panipat:-

The career of Sanga between 1509 - 1526 A.D. falls between two well-defined periods of activity: (1) the period of regional consolidation between 1509-18 A.D. and (2) the period of conflict with the neighbouring Muslim states between 1519-26 A.D. During the first period, except hiswar with Sikandar Lodi on the issue of the marriage of the daughter of Mahim Shah, Sanga was busy in consolidating his position in Rajputana by bringing the neighbouring Rajput states under his hegemony. This period again falls into two compartments: (1) the period of regional conquests (1509-14 A.D.) and (2) the period of Rajput reaction against his policy of expansion (1504-1519 A.D.), which ultimately resulted in an armed confederacy against Mewar leading to the defeat, submission and reinstatement of the defeated confederates. During this period Sanga, possibly, aided the Purbia Rajputs in Malwa and established a pocket of Mewar influence by supporting Raimal Rathor in Idar. During the second period (1519-26 A.D.) Sanga was engaged in fighting the rulers of Malwa, Gujarat and Delhi. He defeated the forces of Delhi, and acquired the territories

between Hadauti and Piliakhal. All these made the Rana the most pre-eminent ruler of Indid on several grounds. Firstly, he ruled over an area which covered the region from the borders of Wagad to Shadari, Chanderi, Bhilsa and Raisin, and from Ranthambhor and the borders of the present-day Kishangadh state to Ringnod, Mandsaur, Mandsaur and the adjoining areas. Secondly, the rulers of Merta, Bundi, Bikaner, Chanderi, Nagod, Marwar, Rampura and Bandhogadh acknowledged his leadership. Thirdly, the rulers of Kutch, Bagalana and Gondwana accepted nominally his supremacy through presents and protestations. Fourthly, he had by that time defeated on several occasions the armies of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Ibrahim Lodi, Mahmud Khilji and Muzaffar Shah/led either by these crown-heads personally or by their generals. Fifthly, by keeping himself in secret touch with the influential officers and nobles of Mandu (cf. Medini Rai, Silhadi, etc.,), Ahmedabad (cf. Malik Ayaz, Malik Gopi, Kiwamulmulk, ect.,) and Delhi (cf. Mian Maruf, Mian Hussain, etc.,) Sanga had acquired a unique and legendary position in the politics of those days. The distruct of Ibrahim in his nobles can be <u>partly</u> explained in the light of Sanga's secret contacts with the offieers and nobles of the adjoining states. All these made the name of Sanga a legend. The Rana supported his fame by 100,000 infantry,18,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants[501]. Some of the battles in which his army participated, except one in which he was opposed by the Rajput confederacy, were fought at (1) Narwar in 1509 A.D., (2) Ajmer in 1510 A.D.,(3) Toda in 1510-11 A.D., (4)

Sambhar (?), (5) Ghatoli in Feb. 1518 A.D., (6) Dholpur in 1518 A.D., (7) Chanderi and (8) Gogrun in 1518 A.D., (9) Ahmadnagar in 1520 A.D., (10) Bisalnagar in 1520 A.D., (11) Ranthambhor in 1521 A.D. and (12) Bandhogadh (?). All these greatly enhanced his prestige amongst his contemporaries[502] and led the later day historians into attributing him with the aspiration of becoming the successor to the glory lost by the Hindus since the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan[503].

Estent of the kingdom of Sanga in 1526 A.D.:-

The sovereignty of Sanga on the eve of the Battle of Panipat extended over the territory from Piliakhal in the north to Gondwana in the south-east, from R.Indus in the east to Baghelkhand in the west[504]. It included 200 cities and yielded a revenue of 10 crores[505], which greatly increased the military potential of the Rana. It is worth noting that Biana, Narwar, Chanderi and Raisin were elephant-breeding regions in those days[506]. This explains not only the preponderance of the elephant corps in the army of the Rana but also one of the causes of the defeat of the Rajput confederacy at the hands of Babar in the Battle of Kanwah (as we shall see below).

FOOTNOTES

(1) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(a). The Shravan-beginning Vaishakha Shukla 5,1538 V.S. is equivalent to Vaishakha Shukla 5,1539 (chaitra-beginning) V.S.

(2) Nensi I/41

(3) Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(b); Vanshavali 872,p.124; Vanshavali 878, leaf (b). Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat (leaf 16(a)) calls him "Padshah Babar Shah" while Amar Kavya (leaf 29(a)) calls him Babbar Sher Kahan. Bakrol is the old name of Hammirgadh, 20 miles north of Chittor (Oza: Raj. Iti.,II/565 n.1).

(4) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(a).

(5) Farishta I/580-81.

(6) Tab. I/378.

(7) Tarikh-i Daudi, Elliot IV/467.

(8) Muntakhabut Tawarikh (Ranking Tr.),I/422.

(9) Makhzen Afgani (Dorn Tr.),I/63.

(10) Khuman Raso, leaves 125(a)-127(a). The word "Babbar" Khan in this book in this context should not be confused with Emperor Babar because (1) Babar had nothing to do with Narwar, and (2) it was a common practice among the poets of those days to use synonyms even for proper nouns, e.g., Surajmal Hada is called "Ravimall" in Vansha Bhaskar (p.2127). Similarly, Rana Raimal is called "Rajmall" in Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription (verse 75). The word Mughal in connection with Babbar Khan should not also confuse us because Mughal was a general term for the Muslims even upto Aurangzeb (Nensi II/94); and secondly, for the Mughals the annalists of Mewar

used the word "Chigata" (Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(b); Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(b). No annalist of Mewar except Kavi Rao (Kavitta Sanga ra, verse 8) refers to this victory of Sanga over the army of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. For the text of this verse See Appendix G. Tod (op. cit., I/349) holds that this battle was fought between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Rana Sanga - a fact for which he has adduced no evidence. Oza, ~~Vin-V~~ Kavi Raja Shyamaldas, Dr. Gopinath, Ramnarayan Duggad, Sarda ect., are all silent about this battle.

(11) Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi, Elliot V/103.

(12) Nensi I/35.

(13) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b) refers to the conquest of the tract between the kingdoms of Malwa and Delhi, which could not be else than Narwar (cf. De Laet: The Empire of the Great Mogol (Hoyland and Banerjee Tr.),p.35). In Raj Vilas (verse 34) and Nensi (I/46) the conquest of Narwar is referred to.

(14) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(a).

(15) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 61(a).

(16) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b).

(17) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 54(a); Mirat-i Sikandari,p.95

(18) Tab. III/299-300.

(19) Forbes: Rasmala (Ranchhod Das Udairam, Gujarati Tr.), p.494.

(20) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.97.

(21) ibid, p.97; Farishta IV/83. Tab.(III/300) calls him 'Biharimal'.

(22) Mirat.,p.97; Tab. III/299-300; Farishta IV/83.

(23) Tab. III/300.

(24) ibid, III/300; Farishta IV/83; Mirat.,p.97.

(25) Tab. III/300; Farishta IV/83.

(26) Farishta IV/82.

(27) Mirat.,pp.97-98

(28) ibid,p.97. Raja Bhim was a vassal of Gujarat (ibid, p.97). For the relations between Raja Bhim and Muzaffar Shah see Mirat.,pp.95-96; Farishta IV/81-82; Tab. III/296-97.

(29) Farishta IV/82.

(30) ibid, IV/83.

(31) ibid, Iv/83; Mirat.,p.98; Tab. III/300.

(32) Mirat.,p.98; Tab. III/300.

(33) Tab. III/300.

(34) ibid, III/300; Farishta IV/83.

(35) Tab. III/210.

(36) Farishta III/83.

(37) ibid, IV/83; Tab. III/300.

(38) Tab. III/300.

(39) Farishta IV/83.

(40) Tab. III/300.

(41) Farishta IV/83.

(42) Tab. III/300.

(43) Farishta IV/83.

(44) Tab. III/300.

(45) Farishta IV/83.

(46) ibid, IV/83; Tab. III/300.

(47) Farishta IV/83.

(48) Tab. III/300.

(49) Mirat-i Ahmadi (Bird Tr.),p.223.

(50) Tab. III/301.

(51) ibid, III/301. Tab.'s statement that only 100 persons were left with him is incorrect in the light of Farishta IV/83.

(52) ibid,III/301; Farishta IV/83. Tab. says that only 27 Gujarati soldiers were slain.

(53) Farishta IV/83.

(54) ibid, IV/83-84.

(55) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.98.

(56) Tab. III/306; Farishta IV/87.

(57) Tab. III/306.

(58) ibid, III/306; Mirat.,p.107; Farishta IV/87.

(59) Farishta IV/87.

(60) Mirat.,p.107.

(61) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(a). See also Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(a).

(62) The colophon of the MS "Hokirenuka Charitra" by Jinadas (Jain Granth Prashasti Sangrah, I/64-66) refers to Pisoshah (i.e., Firoz Shah Nagori) along with Shakambari (verse 29). After Piroz Shah, Gayasa Shah (i.e., Gayasuddin Khiljis of Mandu) is spoken of (verse 23). This means that after Firoz Shah, Sambhar fell into hands of Sultan Gayasuddin Khili, whose son Nasir Shah (verse 33) and Mahmud Khilji (verse 39) are also referred to. So Sambhar was conquered by Sanga from Mahmud Khilji of Mandu.

(63) Rao Ganga succedded Rao Suja, his grandfather on Thursday, Nov. 8,1515 A.D. (Rathoran ri Khyat, Vol. I, leaf 36(a)).

(64) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b).

(65) Oza: Banswara ka Itihas, p.14. On the strength of Nutunpur Jain Temple Inscription of 1514 A.D.(dated Kartika Krishna 3,1571 V.S., ibid,p.14) and Sunnadpur Inscription of 1518 A.D. (dated Poshya Krishna 12,1575 V.S., ibid,p.54), he concludes that the division of Bagad should have taken place between Prithviraj and Jagmal at the hands of their father Rawal Udai Singh about 1514-18 A.D.

(66) Since the defeat of Sahib Khan in 1513 A.D. the influence of Medini Rai had increased greatly in Malwa. He removed Muslim officers of the state either by death or by imprisonment and substituted his own men in their places. So the remaining Muslim officers of Mandu fled Malwa with their families, and all the posts, down to door-keepers and elephant-keepers, went to his agents. Only 200 Muslims were left in the service of Mahmud as his personal guards. The Rajputs also distributed amongst themselves the wives and daughters of the Mussalmans. Even the females of the seraglio of the late Sultan Nasiruddin were not spared. Temples and idol-worship were restored. One day Mahmud sent a basket of bettle-leaves as a token of dismissal of Medini Rai and his 40,000 followers through Araish Khan. The followers of Medini Rai were incensed. They came forward to depose the Sultan and install Ray Rayan, s/o Medini Rai in his place. Medini Rai vetoed this proposal due to the fear of possible intervention of Muzaffar Shah on behalf of Mahmud. Mahmud agreed to retain the

services of Medini Rai provided the ousted Muslim officers were reinstated and the Muslim ladies were released from the Rajput harems. However, Mahmud, in complete breach of this compromise, waylaid Medini Rai and Salivahan in which the latter lost his life and Medini Rai escaped with some injuries. The Rajputs collected in Medini Rai's house to attack the palace of Mahmud which the Rai again vetoed (Tab. III/596-99; Farishta IV/257-59). The plea of Tab. (III/599-600) and Farishta (IV/259) that Mahmud fought off and put to flight the Rajput army with only 16 horsemen is too hard for anybody's stomach. Medini Rai remained entrenched in power even after this event.

(67) Mirat.,p.98; Tab. III/301-2,596-7. Farishta (IV/84) calls him Hamid Khan.

(68) Mirat.,p.98.

(69) Tab. III/302.

(70) Mirat.,p.98.

(71) ibid,pp.98-99; Tab. III/302,601; Farishta IV/84. The Arabic History of Gujarat (edi. Ross: I/102) gives 1515 A.D. as the year of this event.

(72) Farishta IV/84.

(73) Tab. III/601. See also Farishta IV/84.

(74) Mirat.,p.99. See also Farishta IV/84. However, Tarikh-i Muzaffar Shahi (Gujarati Tr. by Nadavi and Naik,p.12) says that these amirs were despatched on Dec. 11,1517 A.D.

(75) Muzaffar Shahi,p.10.

(76) Mirat.,p.99.

(77) ibid,p.100.

~~(78)~~

(78) ibid, p.100; Muzaffar Shahi, p.17.

(79) Tab. III/302-3.

(80) Mirat.,p.100.

(81) Muzaffar Shahi,p.17

(82) Mirat.,p.99.

(83) Tab. III/303.

(84) Farishta IV/260. See also Tab. III/303 and Mirat.,
p.100.

(85) Mirat.,p.100.

(86) ibid,p.100; Muzaffar Shahi,p.18.

(87) Farishta IV/260.

(88) Muzaffar Shahi,p.18.

(89) ibid,p.18; Mirat.,p.100.

(90) Muzaffar Shahi,p.18.

(91) Tab. III/602.

(92) Farishta (Lithographic edi.),II/267. This Jaipur was on the north-eastern border of Hadauti.

(93) Tab. III/303,602; Farishta (Briggs Tr.),IV/260;
Mirat.,p.101. Mirat., however, holds that Medini Rai
fled from Dhar to Ujjain.

(94) Farishta IV/260. Mirat. (p.100) says taht these
reinforcements to the garrison of Mandu were sent
from Ujjain.

(95) Muzaffar Shahi,p.22.

(96) Farishta IV/260.

(97) Muzaffar Shahi,p.19.

(98) Farishta IV/84.

(99) Tab. III/303.

(100) Mirat.,p.100.

(101) ibid,p.100; Muzaffar Shahi,p.23.

(102) Muzaffar Shahi, p.22.
(103) ibid,pp.21-22.
(104) Farishta IV/260. "Rai Pithora" (Tab. III/303) appears to be his title.
(105) ibid,IV/84,261; Mirat.,pp.100-1; Tab. III/303.
(106) Mirat.,p.101; See also Muzaffar Shahi,p.23 and Tab. III/303.
(107) ibid,p.101; Tab. III/303; Farishta IV/85; Muzaffar Shahi,p.23.
(108) Tab. III/303; Farishta IV/84. See also Muzaffar Shahi, p.23.
(109) Tab. III/303. Farishta (IV/85) calls it submitting to the king's mercy.
(110) Tab. III/602. See also Muzaffar Shahi,p.23.
(111) Tab. III/602.
(112) Farishta IV/84-5.
(113) ibid,IV/85; Tab. III/304.
(114) Muzaffar Shahi,pp. 23-4.
(115) Tab. III/304; Farishta IV/85.
(116) Mirat.,p.101; See also Tab. III/304,602.
(117) Mirat.,p.101.
(118) Muzaffar Shahi,p.24.
(119) Tab. III/602; Farishta IV/85.
(120) Farishta IV/85.
(121) ibid, IV/85.
(122) Muzaffar Shahi,pp.24-5.
(123) Tab. III/304; Farishta IV/85.
(124) Farishta IV/85.
(125) ibid,IV/85; Tab. III/304,602; Mirat.,p.101. Muzaffar Shahi (p.26) says that the Sultan proceeded to attack Mandu on Feb. 6,1518 A.D. after despatch-

-ing an army to oppose the Rana on Feb.5,1518 A.D. This view is incorrect both from the points of view of chronology and facts. Adil Khan was sent when the second siege of Mandu was already in progress (Tab. III/602). The same is true of Farishta (IV/85).

(126) Mirat.,p.101. See also Tab. III/602.

(127) Tab. III/304, 602. See also Farishta IV/85.

(128) Tab. III/602.

(129) ibid, III/304, 602-3; Mirat.,p.101.

(130) Muzaffar Shahi, p.26.

(131) Tab. III/304; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/104. Mirat. (p.101), Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.225) and Muzaffar Shahi (p.27) give Feb. 13,1518 A.D. for it. However, the day of Holi~~g~~ as ~~it should~~ festival~~g~~ did not fall on this day, as it should, according to Tab. and The Arabic History of Gujarat.

(132) Farishta IV/85. Mirat-i Sikandari(p.101) says that the fort fell on the third day.

(133) Tab. III/603. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/104) says that Prophet Khizr advised Imadulmulk to attack the fort on the day of the festival of Holi. For the treachery of some one in the fort see Mirat. (p.102).

(134) Tab. III/304; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/104.

(135) Tab. III/304, 604; Farishta IV/85. Muzaffar Shahi (p.32) says that two sons, two daughters and one wife of Medini Rai escaped from death. One of these sons was carried out of the fort at the time of its fall and all the rest were captured,

(136) Tab. III/304,604; The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/105. Mirat. (p.101) simply says that a large number of Hindus were killed.

(137) Muzaffar Shahi,p.28.

(138) Tab. III/305,604; The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/104; Farishta IV/85; Mirat.,p.101.

(139) Mirat-i Ahmadi,p.225.

(140) Muzaffar Shahi,p.29. It was a custom amongst the Muslims that at some prominent place near the battlefield they commemorated their victory by digging a pit, filling it with the skulls of the fallen enemies and erecting a tower thereon (Azad: Darbar-i Akbari, Hindi Tr. I/15 n.1).

(141) Tab. III/604.

(142) Mirat.,p.102.

(143) ibid,p.102; Muzaffar Shahi, pp.35-6. In 1519 A.D. they were presented by Mahmud Khilji to Sanga (Mirat. p.179; Memoirs of Babar, Erskine and Leyden Tr., II/341) and were surrendered by Rana Vikramjit to Bahadur Shah in 1533 A.D. (Tab. III/369).

(144) Farishta (Lithographic edi.),II/267.

(145) Ahmad Yadgar: Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afgana, Elliot V/7-12; Al Badaoni I/430-33; Farishta I/590-9; Tab. I/393-403.

(146) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/14.

(147) cf. Banerjee: Rajput Studies, p.82.

(148) Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(a); Vänshavali 872,p.125; Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(a). The place Ghatoli is called Khatoli in Vanshavali 872.

(149) cf. Oza, ~~Ibid~~ Raj. Iti. II/663 where it is held that the Battle of Ghatoli took place soon after the accession of Ibrahim.

(150) Vir Vinod I/354; Sarda: Maharana Sanga (Hindi Text), p.52; Ramnarayan Duggad: Maharana Sanga, p.25. Oza (op. cit.,II/663) holds that the Battle of Ghatoli lasted for 3 hours only.

(151) Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(a); Vanshavali 872, p.125; Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(a).

(152) Vir Vinod I/354; Oza, op. cit.,II/663; Sarda, op. cit.,p.52; Ramnarayan Duggad, op. cit.,p.25.

(153) The same as note 151.

(154) The same as note 152.

(155) Mirat.,p.106; Muzaffar Shahi,p.32; The Arabic History of Gujarat,1/105. See also Tab. III/305 and Farishta IV/86.

(156) Muzaffar Shahi, p.32.

(157) The Arabic History of Gujarat,1/105.

(158) Mirat.,p.106; Tab. III/305, 604.

(159) cf. Tab. III/604.

(160) ibid, III/305; Mirat.,p.106; Muzaffar Shahi,p.32. See also Farishta IV/86.

(161) Farishta IV/86. See also Muzaffar Shahi (p.32) and Mirat.,(p.106).

(162) Farishta IV/86.

(163) Mirat.,p.106.

(164) ibid,p.106. Tab.(III/305) says, "towards ~~Chittor~~". Chittor". See also Tab. III/604.

(165) Tab. III/604; Mirat.,p.106; Farishta IV/261.

(166) Tab. III/604.

(167) Farishta IV/86.

(168) Tab. III/604; Mirat.,p.106. See also Muzaffar Shahi, p.34.

(169) Mirat.,p.106; Muzaffar Shahi,p.34.

(170) cf. Muzaffar Shahi,p.34

(171) Mirat.,p.106.

(172) ibid,p.106; Tab. III/605; Farishta IV/86; Muzaffar Shahi,p.34.

(173) Farishta ~~IV/~~ (Lithographic edi.),II/208.

(174) Tab. III/306. Farishta (Briggs Tr.,IV/262) gives the number of horsemen as 3,000. Mirat. (p.106) does not give any number. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/106) says that Shahzada Taj Khan was also left in Mandu by Muzaffar Shah.

(175) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/16.

(176) Oza, op. cit.,II/665. Ahmad Yadgar (Elliot V/16) does not mention the name of the place and simply calls it "Sanga's country".

(177) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/16.

(178) cf. Wakiyat-i Mushtaki: Elliot V/548-9, wherein a feast in which Mian Maruf and Mian Hussain Khan were guests of the Rana is described.

(179) Ahmad Yadgar, Elliot V/17-18.

(180) ibid, Elliot V/18. However, he admits on p.19 that elephants of Mian Hussain were seen in the battlefield.

(181) ibid, Elliot V/19.

(182) ibid, V/20. It is further claimed (ibid V/20) that Bakshi of the army Mian Bayazid (s/o Ata Lodi)

informed Ibrahim Lodi of this victory and sent the captured elephants and horses to the court. The Sultan was exceedingly pleased with Mian Maruf and Mian Hussain Khan and sent them 'khilats', 2 elephants and 4 horses. In the 'farmans' issued to proclaim this victory a special reference and high praise were given to them ~~in their names~~.

(183) ibid, Elliot V/20 n.1. The river referred to here might be Piliakhal (Mansi I/46).

(184) The fort of Chanderi was in the hands of Bhijat Khan, an officer of Mandu Sultan, and the district around the fort was occupied by the officers of Delhi Sultan. Ibrahim Lodi sent Sheikzada Muhammad Farmuli to Chanderi (Farishta I/593-4; Tab. ~~[illegible]~~ I/400: Tab. gives the name of the officer as Sheik Manju). About this time Muhammad Khilji had died and Ibrahim had the son of the deceased - Ahmad Shah - conveyed to the court, and the imperial officers were appointed to rule in his place. When the imperial arms were defeated at Dholpur, the amirs of Ahmad Shah revolted against Ibrahim. Taking advantage of this opportunity Sanga moved forward and captured Chanderi (Memoirs of Babar, Erskine and Leyden Tr., II/323) forcibly (Vanshavali 872, p.127). Jagmal (s/o Karamchand Pawar) performed prodigies of valour in the conquest of Chanderi and was awarded the title of "Rao" by the Rana (Tod, op. cit., I/349). The fief and the fort of Chanderi were entrusted to Medini Rai (Memoirs of Babar, II/~~262~~ 323). See also Farishta (IV/262) where in 1518 A.D. Medini Rai is said to be ~~in-po~~

in the possession of Chanderi and Gagrun which means that immediately ater the Battle of Dholpur, first Chanderi a next Gagrun fell in the hands of Sanga. The Arabic History of Gujarat (III/945) also mentions Chanderi in the hands of Medini Rai in 1518 A.D. The view of Vir Vinod (I/354) that the fort of Chanderi was captured from a Gaud Raja is incorrect.

(185) cf. Farishta IV/262 and the Arabic History of Gujarat, III/945.

(186) Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramaditya aur Udai Singh ra (Ch.VIII, Appendix T).

(187) Farishta IV/262.

(188) Tab. III/605.

(189) ibid, III/307; Farishta IV/87.

(190) Mirat.,p.106; Tab. III/307,605. Tab. calls Hemkaran as Bhim Karan.

(191) Tab. III/605.

(192) Mirat.,p.106; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/107.

(193) Tab. III/606.

(194) Farishta IV/263.

(195) ibid, IV/262; Tab.III/307,606; Mirat.,p.106.

(196) Tab. III/606.

(197) ibid,III/606. However, Farishta (IV/262-63) gives an altogether different version. He says that when, after a tiresome all day march, the Malwa army encamped, the Sultan learnt that Sanga was near at hand. So he ordered an attack. Asaf Khan pleaded the fatigue and hunger of the soldiers and horses for the postponement of the attack; but the Sultan

was adamant. The Gujarat army headed by Mahmud personally commenced the attack. The result was disastrous.

(198) ibid,III/307,606-7; Farishta IV/263. Tab. (III/607) suggests that Asaf Khan himself was also killed.

(199) Tab. III/607. Farishta (IV/263) says that almost the whole army was cut off. (Oza (op. cit.,II/666) gives the strength of this army as 30,000.

(200) Farishta IV/263. Tab. (III/607) gives the number af these followers as 2-3.

(201) Farishta IV/263.

(202) Tab. III/607; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/107.

(203) Farishta IV/263.

(204) Nensi I/108. The plea of Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p. 17 n.21) that Mahmud was captured by Haridas Charan is wrong. The copper-plate dated Vaishakha Krishna 12,1577 V.S. cited by him in its support does not refer to any such transaction. For the text of this copper-plate see Appendix E to Ch.III.

(205) Farishta IV/263.

(206) ibid, IV/263; Mirat.,p.107; Tab. III/307,607; The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/107. The statement that the Rana saluted the Sultan (The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/107), stood before him with hands crossed on his breast, and attended personally on the Sultan (Tab.III/607) are simply fantastic.

(207) Farishta IV/88.

(208) ibid,IV/88; Mirat.,p.106.

(209) Farishta IV/88.

(210) Mirat.,p.106.

(211) ibid, p.107. Tab. (III/607), however, holds that Mahmud was released from the captivity before the Rana returned to Chittor.

(212) For the verse commemorating this event see Vir Vinod I/358.

(213) Vir Vinod I/371.

(214) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b).

(215) Davavet, leaf 4; Vanshavali 207, leaf 304. However, cf. Mirat.,p.107.

(216) The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/107.

(217) Mirat.,p.179; Memoirs of Babar II/341; Tab. III/369. De (Tanslator's note: Tab. III/608 n.1) does not approve this ~~proceedings~~ transaction. According to him, it "marred his proceedings". This view is unacceptable. Tod (op. cit.,I/335) wrongly attributes his event to the reign of Kumbha. The story of the return of the moiety of the kingdom of Malwa to Mahmud Khilji along with a bouquet (Oza, Raj. Iti.,II/667n; Munshi Deviprashad: Maharana Sanga,pp.28-29; Sarda, op. cit.,p.73) is a mere gossip passing for a historical fact.

(218) Mirat.,p.107.

(219) cf. Rampura ki Khyat (leaf 33(b)) where some districts of Malwa are said to be administered by Rao Achala, a contemporary and a vassal of Sanga (Nensi I/110) whom the Rana had helped in obtaining the throne of Rampura (Rampura ki Khyat, leaves 33(a)-(b)). For the text of this Khyat about the territories of Malwa under Achala see Appendix H.

(220) Phutakar Vatan ra Sangraha: Published by Tessitori in "Bardic and Historical Survey of Rājasthan" - Biblotheca Indica, no.1412,p.61. The statements of Nensi (I/46) and "Raj Ratnankar" (leaf 32(a)) that Sanga captured and released Mahmud twice and thrice respectively, are unfounded. Similarly, the assertion of Mirat-i Sikandari (p.107) and the Arabic History of Gujarat (I/107) that the Rana accompanied the Sultan for several stages after his release, is also equally baseless.

(221) Tab. III/607. Farishta (IV/263) gives the number of these horsemen as 1,000 only. This cavalry contingent was, probably, commanded by Dhandharya Jagan (cf. Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramadit aur Udai Singh ra (Ch. VIII, Appendix T), verse 1).

(222) Tab. III/608; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/107.

(223) Mirat.,p.107. However, cf. Oza: Raj. Iti.,II/668.

(224) Farishta IV/90.

(225) Rathoran ri Khyat, Vol.I, leaf 39(a).

(226) Farishta IV/88.

(227) Mirat.,p.107; Tab. III/307; Farishta IV/88.

(228) Mirat.,p.107.

(229) ibid,p.131.

(230) Tab.III/308; Farishta IV/88. See also Mirat.,p.107.

(231) Mirat.,p.107.

(232) ibid,p.108; Tab. III/308.

(233) Tab. III/308; Farishta IV/88-9.

(234) Mirat.,p.108. On p.85, 100,000 cavalry and on p.109

20,000 cavalry is mentioned by Mirat. as the strength of this army. Both these figures are incorrect. Farishta (IV/89) gives the ratio between the armies of Gujarat and Mewar at Ahmadnagar as I:10. Mirat. (109) says that about 3,500 Gujaratis had participated in this battle. The 20,000 Rajputs who engaged them (ibid,p. 109) formed a part of the Rajput army. The remaining part was attacking the fort of Ahmadnagar (cf. Nensi I/169).

(235) Mirat.,p.108; Tab. III/308; Farishta IV/89.

(236) Tab. III/308; Farishta IV/89.

(237) Mirat.,p.108.

(238) Tab. III/308.

(239) Farishta IV/90.

(240) Mirat.,p.85.

(241) ibid,p.108.

(242) Tab. III/308; Farishta IV/89.

(243) Farishta IV/89.

(244) Mirat.,p.85.

(245) Farishta IV/89.

(246) Tab. III/309.

(247) ibid,III/309; Mirat.,p.108.

(248) Tab. III/309.

(249) Mirat.,p.108.
(250) Farishta IV/89.
(250) Mirat.,p.108. See also Tab.III/309 and Farishta IV/89.

(252) Mirat.,p.108.

(253) Tab. III/309.

(254) Mirat.,p.108.

(255) ibid,p.109.

(256) Tab. III/309; Farishta IV/89. Kiwamulmulk of Mirat. (p.110) is spelled as Qawamulmulk by Tab.

(257) Mirat.,p.85.

(258) ibid, p.109.

(259) Tab. III/309; Farishta IV/89.

(260) Farishta IV/89.

(261) Tab. III/309; Mirat.,p.109.

(262) Farishta IV/89; Mirat.,p.109.

(263) Mirat.,p.109.

(264) Tab. III/309; Farishta IV/89.

(265) Mirat.,p.109.

(266) ibid,p.109; Tab. III/309; Farishta IV/89.

(267) Mirat.,pp.85,109.

(268) ibid,p.85. Tab. (III/309-10) simply says that almost the whole army was cut off.

(269) Mirat.,p.109.

(270) However,cf.Kaviraja Shyamaldas (Vir Vinod I/309) and Sarda (op. cit.,p.80). For the number of participants in this attack see note 234 above.

(271) Nensi I/169.

(272) Mirat.,p.109.

(273) ibid,p.85.

(274) ibid,pp.109-10. Tab. (III/310) and Farishta (IV/90) hold that they returned to Ahmedabad.

(275) ibid,p.110.

(276) ibid,p.110; Tab. III/310.

(277) Farishta IV/90.

(278) Mirat.,p.110.

(279) Mirat.-i-Ahmadi (Supplement: Nawab Ali and Seddon Tr.), p.56.

(280) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.110.

(281) Tab. III/310.

(282) ibid,III/310; Mirat.,p.110.

(283) Mirat.,p.110.

(284) ibid,p.110; Tab. III/310; Farishta IV/90.

(285) Mirat.,p.110.

(286) ibid,p.110; Tab.III/310; Farishta IV/90.

(287) Mirat.,p.110.

(288) Tab. III/310; Farishta IV/90. Farishta calls Malik Hakim, the governor of that place.

(289) Mirat.,p.110; Farishta IV/90.

(290) Mirat.,p.110.

(291) ibid,p.110.

(292) Farishta IV/90.

(293) Mirat.,p.110.

(294) cf. Tab.III/316 and Farishta IV/93.

(295) cf. Mirat.,p.110.

(296) ibid,p.110.

(297) Farishta IV/90.

(298) Mirat.,p.110-1.

(299) ibid,p.111.

(300) ibid,p.111; Tab.III/311; Farishta IV/90.

(301) Mirat.,p.111.

(302) Tab. III/311; Farishta IV/90.

(303) Mirat;,p.111; Tab. III/311.

(304) Mirat.,p.111.

(305) Tab. III/311; Farishta IV/90. Mirat.(p.111) gives the name of the place as Burhani.

(306) Mirat.,p.111; Tab. III/311; Farishta IV/90.

(307) Tab. III/311.

(308) ibid.III/311; Mirat.,p.111.

(309) Tab. III/311.

(310) Mirat.,p.111.

(311) ibid.,p.111; Tab. III/311-12.

(312) Mirat.,p.111.

(313) Farishta IV/90.

(314) ibid.,IV/90; Mirat.,p.111; Tab. III/312.

(315) Mirat.,p.111.

(316) Iab. III/312.

(317) ibid.,III/312; Mirat.,p.111; Farishta IV/90.

(318) cf. Mirat.,p.85. The view of Mirat. (p.86)that the Malik pursued the Rana out of Gujarat "as far as Mandsaur" is contradicted by its own statemtnt on p.111.

(319) The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/112.

(320) Mirat.,p.111; Tab. III/312.

(321) Mirat.,p.111.

(322) ibid,p.111.

(323) Tab. III/312.

(324) ibid, III/312; Mirat.,p.111.

(325) Mirat.,p.111.

(326) ibid,p.111. See also Tab. III/312.

(327) Tab. III/312-3; Farishta IV/91.

(328) Farishta IV/91.

(329) ibid, IV/91; Mirat.,p.111; Tab. III/312.

(330)Mirat.,p.111.

(331) ibid.,p.111. See also Tab.III/312; Farishta IV/91.

(332) Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi (quoted by Mirat.,p.112); Tab. III/313; Farishta IV/91.

(333) Tab.III/313; Farishta IV/91.

(334) cf. Tab. III/313.

(335) ibid,III/313. Farishta (IV/91) says , 'left behind'.

(336) Farishta IV/91.

(337) Tab. III/313. Mirat. (p.112) says that from Mörasa the army proceeded to Rahmulah in Bagad. Bagad is situated on 23° 2'N and 73° 37'E.

(338) Tab.III/313.

(339) ibid III/313. See also the Arabic History of Gujarat (I/113) and Mirat-i Ahamadi (p.226). Lakiakot is situated on 23° 21'N and 74° 1'E. Its present name is is Galiakot (Tab.III/313 n.4).

(340) 23° 33' and 74° 27E.

(341) 23° 50' and 73° 43'E.

(342) Mirat.,p.112; Tab.III/313; Farishta IV/91.

(343) Mirat.,p.112.

(344) ibid,p.112; Tab.III/313-14; Farishta IV/91-2.

(345) Farishta IV/92.

(346) Mirat.,p.112.

(347) ibid,p.113.

(348) Tab.III/314; Farishta IV/92. The claim of Mirat. (p.86) that the Malik reached Mandsaur in pursuit of Sanga when the latter was returning from his Gujarat expedition is incorrect.

(349) Mirat.,/.113; Tab.III/314.

(350) Mirat.,p.113; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/114.

(351) Oza: Raj. Iti.,II/ 1197

(352) Mirat.,p.113. See also Tab.(III/314). An inscription dated Poshya Shukla 5,1576 V.S. (Dec.26,1519 A.D.) from Mandsaur refers to Rao Ashokamal as "thanedar" of that place. For the text of the inscription see Appendix I(II).

(353) Mirat.,p.113; Tha Arabic History of Gujarat,I/114.

(354) Mirat.,p.113. Tab. (III/314) and Farishta (IV/92) hold that Sanga halted at a place (name not given), 24 miles from Mandsaur.

(355) Tab. III/315.

(356) Mirat.,p.113.

(357) Farishta IV/92.

(358) The Arabic History of Gujarat I/114. See also pp.226, 239.

(359) Tab.III/315; Mirat.,p.113; Farishta IV/92; The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/115.

(360) cf. Mirat.,p.113 and Tab. III/315. A daughter of Sanga was given in marriage to Bhupat, the eldest son of Silhadi (The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227).

(361) Mirat.,p.113.

(362) cf. Tab.III/315.

(363) Farishta IV/92.

(364) Tab.,III/315.

(365) Farishta IV/92.

(366) Tab. III/316.

(367) ibid.,III/316; Farishta IV/92-3.

(368) Mirat.,p.113.

(369) Tab. III/316.

(370) Farishta IV/93.

(371) Tab. III/316.

(372) Farishta IV/93.

(373) ibid,IV/93; Tab.III/316.

(374) cf. Farishta IV/93.

(375) Tab. III/316.

(376) ibid,III/316; Farishta IV/93.

(377) Tab.III/316.

(378) Farishta IV/93. Tab. (III/316) uses plural in in connection for these mines.

(379) Tab. III/316.

(380) ibid,III/316; Farishta IV/93.

(381) Farishta IV/93.

(382) Tab.III/316.

(383) ibid,III/316; Farishta IV/93.

(384) Farishta IV/93.

(385) Mirat.,p.113.

(386) Tab.III/316; Farishta IV/93.

(387) Tab. III/316.

(388) Mirat.,p.86.

(389) Farishta IV/93.

(390) ibid.,IV/93; Tab.III/316; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/115.

(391) Mirat.,p.113.

(392) Tab.III/316; Farishta IV/93.

(393) Mirat.,p.113.

(394) Tab. III/317.

(395) Mirat.,p.113.

(396) ibid,p.113; Tab.III/317; Farishta IV/94.

(397) cf. The message of Sultan on the eve of the departure afor Mandu to Kiwamulmulk (Mirat.,pp.113-4).

(398) Mirat.,p.114.

(399) Farishta IV/94. The view of Tab. (III/317) and Mirat.(p.114) that Muzaffar scolded him is unacceptable in the light of the fact that the treaty was approved by the Sultan (cf. Mirat.,p.113).

(400) Tab.III/317.

(401) ibid.,III/317; Mirat.,p.114; Farishta IV/94.

(402) cf. Farishta IV/94.

(403) ibid.,IV/94; Tab.III/317.

(404) Farishta IV/94.

(405) ibid, IV/94-5; Tab.III/317.

(406) Farishta IV/94.

(407) ibid.,IV/95; Tab.III/317.

(408) Tab.III/318; Farishta IV/95.

(409) Tab.III/318.

(410) ibid,III/318; Mirat.,p.114; Farishta IV/95.

(411) Tab.III/318; Farishta IV/95.

(412) Tab.III/318; Farishta IV/95; Mirat.,p.114.

(413) Mirat.,p.114.

(414) Tab.III/318; Farishta IV/95.

(415) Farishta IV/98.

(416) Tab. III/318.

(417) Mirat.,p.114.

(418) ibid,p.114; Tab.III/318.

(419) Tab.III/318

(420) ibid,III/318; Mirat.,p.114.

(421) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/114

(422) Mirat.,p.113.

(423) Farishta IV/93.

(424) Malik Ayaz did not bring any tribute or present from the Rana to the Sultan.

(425) Farishta IV/93.

(426) Mirat.,p.86.

(427) cf. Mirat.,pp.113-4.

(428) ibid.,p.113.

(429) Farishta IV/94.

(430) ibid.,IV/95; Tab.III/317; Mirat.,p.114.

(431) Tab.III/607-8.

(432) ibid.,III/608; Farishta IV/264.

(433) Farishta IV/264.

(434) Tab.III/608.

(435) Ranthambhor was under the Sultans of Mandu. Its governor Daulat Khan, under inducement from Ali Khan Nagori, offered to surrender it to Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 1516 A.D. but for the vileness of Ali Khan Nagori himself Sikandar would have acquired this fort (Al Badaoni I/425; Tab.I/382-83; Farishta I/584-85). Sanga conquered it (Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b); Kavi Rao: Kavitta Rana Sanga ra, Appendix G, verse 2; Nensi I/49) from some commander Ali by an escalcade (Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramadit aur Udai Singh ra (Ch.VIII, Appendix T), verse 1).

(436) Kavi Rao: Kavitta Sanga ra, Appendix G, verse 4. This gives the year (1578 V.S.) and Kartika month and tithi (10th day) but not the fortnight of the date when Ranthambhor was captured by Sanga. There were two Kartikas in 1578 V.S. So the time of the fall of this fort in the hands of the Rana should

be somewhere in Sept. to Nov. 1521 A.D.

(437) Tab.III/609.

(438) Mirat.,p.115; Tab.III/320; Farishta IV/96.

(439) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/121. See also Memoirs of Babar II/261.

(440) Mirat.,p.139.

(441) ibid.,p.115. See also Tab.III/321; Farishta IV/96.

(442) Mirat.,p.115.

(443) Tab.III/320-1. Mirat.'s Rai Singh (p.115) is a corruption of Udai Singh.

(444) Mirat.,p.140.

(445) ibid.,pp.115,140; Tab.III/321; Farishta IV/96.

(446) Mirat.,p.140. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/121) describes the victim as the son of Banga, which is incorrect.

(447) Vanshavali 828, leaf 63(b); Vanshavali 872,p.132; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a). Mirat.(p.140) calls this lady "the mother of the Rana" which Vir Vinod (I/361) and Munshi Devi Prashad (Maharana Sangram Singh,p.36) e have accepted. Munshi Deviprashad has further gone out to add that she was the daughterof Raja Rana Rajdhar of Halwad, whose name, according Badawa Devidan (Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 1(b)) was Ratan Kumar. Hence she cannot be the lady in question whose name is unmistably and specifically given in all the Vanshavalis as Dhanbai Rathor.

(448) Mirat.,p.140.

(450) ibid,p.114,140-1; Tab.III/321; Farishta IV/96.

(451) Tab.III/323; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/131.

(452) Tab.III/325; Farishta IV/99.

(453) Mirat.,p.141.

(454) Tab.III/325.

(455) ibid,III/325; Mirat.,p.142.

(456) Mirat.,p.142. Tab.(III/325) saysthat 700 and Farishta (IV/99) says that 1,700 followers of Malik Latif ~~did in~~ died in this battle.

(457) Tab.III/325.

(458) Mirat.,p.142.

(459) ibid.,p.142; Tab.III/325.

(460) Mirat.,p.142.

(461) Farishta IV/99.

(462) ibid.,IV/99-100; Mirat.,pp.143-44; Tab.III/327-28. For the different dates of this event see Tab.III/328 n.2.

(463) Mirat.,p.144.

(464) ibid.,p.144; Tab.III/328; Farishta IV/~~102~~101.

(465) Mirat.,p.149.

(466) ibid.,p.150; Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/101.

(467) Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/101.

(468) cf. Mirat.,pp.149-50.

(469) ibid.,p.150; Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/101. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/133) says that Taj Khan himself went and met Bahadur.

(470) Mirat.,p.149.

(471) Tab.III/329; Farishta IV/102.

(472) Tab.III/329.

(473) Mirat.,p.149.

(474) ibid.,p.150; Tab.III/329-30.

(475) cf. Tab.III/330.

(476) ibid.,III/330; Mirat.,p.150; Farishta IV/102.

(477) Mirat.,p.150.

(478) Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/102.

(479) cf. Mirat.,p.150; Farishta IV/102.

(480) Mirat.,p.150; Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/102.

(481) Tab.III/330.

(482) Mirat.,p.150. See also Farishta IV/103.

(483) Tab.III/330.

(484) ibid.,III/331-3; Mirat.,p.151; Farishta IV/102.

(485) After Vikramjit's arrival, Bahadur Shah stayed for one month at Ahmedabad (Mirat.,p.158) and then went to Cambay, Nadod, Surat and Rander (ibid,pp.158-59) and finally spent the rainy season at Champaner. All this itinerary would have required at least a period of one month. So two months after the arrival Vikramjit monsoons set in. As monsoons start in Gujarat in the middle of June, so about the middle of April, Vikramjit would have come to Gujarat.

(486) Mirat.,p.158; Tab.III/343.

(487) Mirat.,p.158.

(488) In the characteristic Muslim manner Tab. (III/343) calls the purpose of this mission as "rendering homage" to Bahadur Shah which is absurd.

(489) Mirat.,p.158.

(490) Tab.III/343.

(491) Mirat.,p.159.

(492) ibid.,p.159; Tab.III/343. Tab. says that Vikramjit stayed "for some days" which is an inaccurate

description of 5 months.

(493) Nensi I/46. In the verse quoted by Nensi of the name of this ruler is given as Mukund.

(494) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(bP. See also Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b).

(495) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b).

(496) 21° 5'N & 84° 22'E.

(497) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(a).

(498) ibid, leaf 28(b).

(499) Mirat.,p.177.

(500) Amar Kavya, leaf 28(b).

(501) Vanshavali 828,leaf 59(b).

(502) Memoirs of Babar, ~~I/292~~; II/292.

(503) Tod.,op. cit.,I/349; A.C.Banerji:Rajput Studies, pp.94-5.

(504) Khuman Raso, ~~verses 49-50~~, leaf 126(b), verses 49-50.

(505) Memoirs of Babar,II/292.

(506) Ain-i Akbari (Blochman Tr,),I/129,685.

परिशिष्ट (६)

125

(कवित महाराणा सांगा रा सु कवि रचयता छप्पय(ग्वालियर भाषा में:)

अमे लख असवार पूले दोय लख पैदल
सात सत उमत सात मता सुन्डाहल
असी हजार दरक भार चंपिया कुहके
मृग आमूक भेर मांहि पंखाल ग्रहके
बावीस सहस वाजित्र घूरे पाव लिहाए बिमुहवे
संग्राम राण ए तू सुगह इन्द्र फणिन्द्रक चकवे।।१।।
गोरीय गुरु गुजरात खोदी खिलजी कस किन्नउ
भर भठी रण थम्भ जोकी ढिली जो दिन्नउ
जल संभरी अजमेर पोती नागोर बतक बर
टपक जानी जालोर उटा जसवास सपतसर
धनी राइ राईमल्लह सुतन पालव कर करि वर तवइ
संग्राम रान गढ चित्रवर यही मद मतर चकवई।।२।।
बागुरी बल उठय खेती गागूरनी महारन
मान्डोपति सजी सैन जोर आय ऊत बग्गबन
बोकरे नरवद्द मान आजारो किनऊं
सबर भूठि संग्राम तक्कि मेछ हंसर दिनऊं
भनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन हिन्द हठी खिल्यऊ हरन
संग्राम रान सिक्कार मिस सतहि मिल्यऊ सरना।।३।।
तेरह से पंचास अठ सावन पंचेसर ~~[illegible]~~
इपि भुभऊं हमीर चढयो अलावदीन कर
मने राय खुमाणं दाऊ पन्नह से दिन्नो
अठहतर कार्तिग दसे मंगल गढ लीनो
व्देसत वरिष पेतीस जद्द पन्नरह दिन्न घटि लखि लिय
संग्राम राण दिथम्भ गढ लग्य हठ दिन्वान किय।।४।।

परिशिष्ट(G)

किम किम सुरपति सुन्यव किम जु पायाल भयऊ जस
यह अपूव्वग गयन हिंन किये कवि करहिं कित रस
हनि वग खग्ग खुमाण टोंक सिर हर लिय जव्वह
गलि फनवे सिर चन्द्र कहयो घरघर फिर सव्वह
सो पन्नगपुर अमरपुरह चल्लह वत रावमल्ल सुव
संग्राम जु बंध्यो सीहरिन सु तीन भवन आतंक हुव।।५।।
को मालव दल मथय को महमंद गहि मिल्लई
को गुजरात हिं गाहिं साहि समुख गहि ठिल्लई
को लोखी सम उरय कोंन आगरो प्रचार वई
को बाबर कहें हटकि बहुरि पन्डवा लागे तारई
भनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन तुब डर बंग तिलंग वे
संग्राम रान तुम बिन अवर इते साह को अंग वे।।६।।
गुज्जरईय मालईय ढिल्ली कनवज्ज कुण खनि
धान मकन मीर हनि
इबराहिम साकुल्लि समिधि
गंग जमन घृत मिसहं अगनि ग्वारियर पुव्वभर
सत इकोतर तारि स्ट्रोऊ राजसू होम हर
भनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन चारि साह आहुत करिंग
संग्राम रान रण जग्य करि भसम ईस अंगह चरिंग।।७।।
मक्क लीय जालोर इक्क भरहर चंदेरीय
ठट्टा अरु मुलतान आन मन्डो लगि फेरिय
दरीया सो हद करिय ऊभरि कोऊ करेन कन्दर
लेतो परबत भाल भारी लिय बीच सिकन्दर
भनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन सरन साहि धारि अंगवई
संग्राम तपे गढ चित्रवर इक छत्र मही भुगवई ।।८।।

जिहि मुखबर बुल्लउ विरंचि सोई मुख कुटयउ
दस अंगुरि मुख मिल्ली अंति पग परयात छुटउ
पीठ हुवी मुखियव अदिन दिन परगो दुहिल्लउ
रखत बखत अरु तखत लूटि लंगर गर मिल्लउ
कंचन कचोरि तिहिंकर मुगति तिन हथनि कच कौल दिय
संग्राम राव कति राम मनि साह बंधा दरवेस किय।।१।।
जो गढ स्तहि अलावदीन विग्रहसउ बरस दस
जु गढ अरिग सुलतान जिति नहीं करयो अपबस
जुगड खिलवि महमद जोर जुरि जुद्दन लिनउ
जिहीं लिन्हउ तिहीं कूर खग्ग पर हथ्थन दिनउ
मनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन हनि निसान धो आठयउ
संग्राम रान अजमेर गढ धाय धारै मंत्रह लयउ।।१३।।
सेल संढाणी करिग खग्ग धान करिग रंग रस
करिग्रहरनि अरि सीस कहिर अरि कंगि मार वस
धोक सद्द निसान खान सब कंटि सु कन्नव
सार गहत सुलतान सुतो जीवत धारि लिनउ
मनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन लीहाणा कुंवर कुहर
संग्राम रान मुहमंद हर आवटयव यक पहर।।११।।
खानि मलिक उमराव साहि समहर दल सज्जिग
तबल ढोल नीसाण सबद पची तहां बज्जिग
पतसाही मुरतबा चोर सिर छत्र आडम्बर
है हीरा कर गहित तखत अंबर जर कंबर
पत नैन महित कवि रायकहि आयव साहि लंरन कहं
मुहमद बिलातो बुन्द जिम या संग्राम समुद महं।।१२।।

परिशिष्ट(ग)

जो वामन तोही कहू बालि जु बाध्यो कपट करि
जो दस कुन्धार कहू इन्द्र बंध्योत थाप धारि
जो विक्रम मोही कहू असुर बंध्यो बल पाय
जो बाप धोर कहू साह बंध्यो घर आय
भनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन कोयन ऊचिवति तुलप अब
महमुद चढयो संग्राम कर तिहि उर डारि सुलतान सब।।१३।।
साहि उथपि थपि उथपि ताहि उथपि सथिर किय
ढाहि ढही गढ दुग ढाहि ठहरान दुग दिय
गोयरि बन्नवज्ज ढाल ढिल्ली धार व्याजउक
हिन्दुनि के सिर छत्र तानि टबराहिम भोज्यउक
भनि राय नृपति मल्लह सुतन गंग खग भमिर मिलियव
नन काहू कियो करि अजउक सब बंधान आगन कियउक।।१४।।

:समाप्त:

प्राप्ति स्थान:

राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर,

वक्ता: आशिया श्री सावल दान जी चारण कवि

APPENDIX 'H'

Extent of the fief of Rao Achalakaran :

आमदगढ की हवेली - १३

आमदा, दतराकी, बकखेडा, मोदवणा, पढार, रामपुरा, दातोली, आंतरी, संजीत, सखुंसर, चंदवासा, गराटे, कवला

गुणवाण की हवेली - १०

सांगरी, प्रीपली, कोटका, घाणा, केकडो, सावदो, कुकीणो, केसुना सवना, झबलपुर

मांडवगढ की हवेली - १३

आली अुदेपुर, लीमडी, देवकी हटी, आमकी हटी, मावतो, चांणपुर, बारो, मंजनेरी, गंगापुर, जेमके, आलपुर, आमगरो, झाबुआ, ~~मंदसोर~~

मंदसोर की हवेली - १८

जावरो, रुणीजाराठोडोका, पटलावद, तजगढ, सोवानां, राजपुर, बडशिलो, ताल, बरखेडा, अुजेणवासो, कीयामपुर, मलाणिग, सीपला, बकताड, पलोदी, छोडेरनवाबी, हतनारो, मांवतो

हवेली अुजेण - ११

तराणो, आगर, कानेड, जेसींगाबाद, रुणीजादेवाडाको, हातोदा पेडाकी, हातोद, मेहेदपुर, सुंपला त्राणदेवकी, लालगढ, वरेडो

(गंग) धार की हवेली - १७

सुंणोलवर्डी, सुंवारो, मेसोदा, सुखतराशेपुर, ~~हासल~~ हासलपुर, बेटमो, जीरापुर, मांचलपुर, पंचपहाड,डग, गंगराड, धादला, मोहनगढ, बलवाडो, जाहानो, बेमपुर

रामपुरा की ख्यात पृष्ठ ३३ (a) -३४ (a)

(Obtained by the courtesy of Rao Shri Moti Singhji Chandawat, Rampura, M.B.)

परिशिष्ट (बी)

अप्रकाशित शिलालेख

(I) लाइनं.१,

१, सम्वत् १५८० वर्षे वैशाख सुदि १२ शुक्र दिने उत्तरा
२, फालगुनी नक्षत्रे हरीषाणना नियोगे बालवक
३, र राशे अत्र दिने ।। महाराजा धिराज महाराणा
४, श्री संग्राम विजय राज्ये ।। श्री यौगिनीपुर वास्त-
५, व्य तेली पाला सुत तेली हीस मूर्ति कारापित

(II) लाइन नं.२,

१, ।।स्वस्ति श्री।। संवत्१५७६ वर्षे शाकं १४४१ प्रव
२, र्तमाने ग। महाराजाधिराज श्री राणा संग्राम।।
३, तस्य प्रसाद उद्दोत कारी। राज श्री राव असोक
४, मल। दशपुर नगरे थानापति। सिरजणाती।।
५, साह सहसमल। सगवी तेजा। साह वछा। कानु
६, बिस्वाकी छोडावी। साल रि साल कानु छूटी।।
७, जो कोई दाणी उगाती बीजो कोई बिस्वाकी
८, वाल करे। तेकी जाय ने गादह गाली तीन
९, तलाक। हींदु ने गाय की सोंस। मुसलमान
१०, ने सुवर मुसापर की सोह। जे कोई हुजदार
११, हो तो बिस्वाकानु की वाल करे। तेहने पिरथवी
१२, मारया को पाप लागे। गादह गाल। तल्लाक।।
१३, पोस सुदी ५ पंचमी सोमवार। प्रशस्त लिखी।।

CHAPTER V

SANGA-BABAR RELATIONS AND THE BATTLE OF KANWAH.

By the year 1526 A.D.Maharana Sanga had reached the zenith of his power. By his direct rule over Mewar, overlordship over thex rulers of Rajputana, and by tacit recognition of his superiority by the rulers of Amarkot and Kutch he had acquired paramountcy over all the Rajput kingdoms of his day except Bagalana. Added to this was the fact that out of the four neighbouring Muslim rulers of Delhi, Malwa, Gujrat and Sindh, Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi were personally defeated by him in the battlefields and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat owed his throne to the indirect aid of the Rana. Thus excluding the Panjab, Doab, Bihar, Bengal and Sindh, Sanga had established his authority over the entire northern India. Nobody knows, if everything being equal, Sanga might have reached out his hand to grasp the tottering throne of Delhi to crown his career with wielding the umbrella of 'chakravartin' over his head; because it was precisely at this moment when something concrete would have materialised, which would have been the last bite of the cherry, if at all the Rana seriously aimed at the emperorship of India in imitation of ancient rulers, that Babar came in and gave a sudden and violent turn to things, and ushered a new era in the history of India.

The Battle of Panipat

Son of Sheikh Umar and Kutluk Nigar Khatun[1] alias

Shah Begam[2], Babar, a descendant of Timur[3], defeated the 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants of Ibrahim Lâdi[4] at Panipat on April 21, 1526 A.D.[5] Treachery[6] and desertions[7] had as much contributed to the Afgan defeat as the advanced strategy of Babar was responsible for the Mughal victory.

Through out this contest Sanga did not show any concern for any of the belligerents. This has come to be misinterpreted as anticipation on the part of the Rana that Babar, like Timur, would return from India, with his animals loaded with loot, leaving the Rana free to deal with the weakened Afgans[8]. Those who believe in this hypothesis have yet to adduce evidence to prove their case. On the other hand, it is more than certain from the Memoirs of Babar that, if not Babar, at least his nobles and soldiers had not anticipated their permanent residence in India.[9] It appears that the easy victory over Ibrahim was to a great extent responsible for Babar's determination to stay in India.

Difficulties of Babar :-

Though Babar defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi the western-Afgan empire ruled over by Ibrahim which extended from Behreh to Bihar[10] did not automatically fall into his hands. The native Afgan nobility was seething with revolt. Kasim Sambali in Sambal, Nizam Khan in Biana, Hasan Khan Mewati in Mewat, Muhammad Zeitun in Dholpur, Tatat Khan Saranga-Khani in Gwalior, Hussain Khan Luhani in Raberi, Kutbkhan in Etawah, Alim Khan Jighat in Kalpi, Marghub in Mahaban were fortifying

their posts afto offer resistance to the Mughals[11].

Secondaly, his nascent empire had yet to contend with the eastern Afgans under Bihar Khan (the son of Darya Khan), who after the battle of Panipat had assumed royalty under the name of Sultan Muhammad Lodi and held the country beyond Kanauj upto the borders of Bengal under his sway.[12] Sanga also had moved forward[13] and besieged the fort of Kandhar,[14] which was held by Hasan[15]. Hasan had made loyal representations to Babar[16] in the past though he had not openly submitted so far.[17] The eventuality ~~possibility~~ of Sanga's clash with the Mughals though not distinctly articulated by Babar had been dimly visualised as an inevitable future possibility.[18] And lastly, though there was very little to fear from the rump of the western Afgans, the possibility of both the eastern and western wings of the Afgans joining into one coalition could not be ruled out. And there was the fear of east- Afgan wing joining the Rana to forge a Rajput-Afgan coalition. Thus the main tasks before Babar can be summerized under the following headings:-

1. Not to let time for any powerful coalition of the Western and eastern Afgans to be forged against Babar;
2. Not to let any friendship between the Rajputs and the western Afgans to grow, deepen and flourish;
3. To prevent the formation of any general confederation of the anti-Mughal elements which might threaten the position of Babar in the newly acquired empire; and
4. To win over the Muslim governors of the adjoining forts

viz., Gwalior, Biana, Dholpur and Kalpi, as far as possible by persuasion and in the last resort by force.

Babur Accuses Sanga of the Breach of Faith:

Some days after July 11, 1526 A.D.[19] when Babar was unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Nizam Khan of Bayana[20] and Muhammad Zeitum of Dholpur to accept the Mughal tutelege[21] about 50,000 eastern Afgans advanced two or three stages beyond Kanauj towards Agra.[22] Babar's position at this moment was so critical that he himself writes, "I was by no means secure of the fidelity of the country immediately around us."[23] During this period Sanga was pressing hard the seige of Kandhar. Babar could not go to the relief of the garrison which withstood the Rajput onslought for 2 - 3 months. On being reduced to great straits Hasan surrendered Kandhar to Sanga[24] after the death of Makan[25] on certain conditions.[26] The loss of Kandhar, the failure of the negotiations with Nizam Khan and Muhammad Zeitun, and the knowledge of the fact that the Mughal occupation of Agra was insecure till Biana (also spelled as Bayana), Dholpur, Gwalior and Kalpi lay in the hands of unsubmitted Afgans[27], who might any time join Sanga, if pressed hard, made Babar think. He had to devise some plan to prevent Sanga from taking advantage of this situation. So he gave out for the first time that when he was at Kabul Sanga had invited him to attack Delhi on the pledge that the Rana on his part would be attacking Agra in the Mughals attacked Delhi, and that

not only did Sanga fail in fulfilling his promise about attacking Agra when the Mughals were gripped in combat with Ibrahim at Panipat but later on besieged the fort of Kandhar and wrested it from the hands of Hasan, a friend of the Mughals[28]. It is worth noting that precisely at the time when the refusal on the part of Nizam Khan and Muhammad Zeitun to submit to Babar had made continued peace between them and the Mughals impossible that Babar had made this statement which accused Sanga of the breach of a solemn pledge. Its aim was to make a friendship between these governors and Sanga impossible.(For the critical examination of the theories about Sanga's invitation to Babar, see Appendix 'J'). Simultaneously, a contingent was sent against Muhammad Zeitun of Dholapur with a word that after the conquest of Dholpur it was to march against Biana.[29] Though Thus, Babar was working at full speed in consolidating his position against Sanga, the time was not yet ripe for challenging Sanga in the open till (i)the Afgan governors of Gwalior, Biana and Dholpur, and Hasan Khan Mewari were won over to the Mughal side and (ii) the estern Afgans defeated, if not crushed. So in a meeting, on the suggestion of Babar himself, it was decided that "Rana Sanka was not only far off, but that it was not even plain that it was in his power to come near us" so an expedition was organized to be led against the eastern Afgans who under Nazir Khan Lohani and Mian Maaruf Khan Farmuli had crossed the Ganges with 40 to 50

thousand men and had advanced beyond Kanauj.[30] It is clear that the chief reason for this expedition was to give a shock to the power of the eastern Afgans so that enfeebled and injured they might not be left with enough strength either to offer co-operation to Sanga or to make a common cause with their eastern counterparts - the western Afgans - between whom and themselves the Mughals were to drive a wedge for making difficult their union. It is worth noting that the claim of Babar that Sanga was far off does not appear very true in the light of his recent conquest of Kandhar in Mewat[31]. So the chief purpose of Babar in organizing the eastern campaign at this time was, as hinted by Abul Fazl, to gain time for some diplomatic offensive to weaken the position of the Rana in the regions bordering on the Mughal territories.[32] So the army sent ostinsibly against Dholpur, which had by now reached Chandwar, was recalled and put under Humayun to proceed "towards the east".[33] Mahdi Khwahja and others, who were sent against Kutb Khan of Etawah were also similarly withdrawn to join in this eastern expedition.[33] On Aug., 21, 1526 A.D.[34] Humayun moved out[35] to the village of Jalesar,[36] 16 kos from Agra, with the greatest part of the Mughal troops".[37] Thus by August 21, 1526 A.D. Babur had not only withdrawn his army from Etawah and Dholpur for some diplomatic manoeuvre, broadcasted his giving up of his intention to engage Sanga in some near future, put the Rana under the permanent stricture of being the violator of solemn pledges but also created a political ground for blaming the Rana

for imposing a war upon the unwilling Mughals when they were engaged in the east.[38] Meanwhile Babar went on with his plans to impose a war upon the Rana with all the guiles of injured innocence.

Humayun's Eastern Campaign:-

When Humayun was engaged against the eastern Afgans,[39] Sanga opened negotiations with Hasan Khan Mewati. The Rana informed him about the assassination of Ibrahim,[40] the occupation of the land of the western Afgans by the Mughals and foreboded a similar future for themselves also unless they united their strength to oust the Mughals. Hasan Khan agreed and did not send any tribute to Babar.[41] A treaty between the Rana and Hasan Khan was also signed.[42] A treat Now Sanga advanced near Biana[43]. Nizam Khan who had refused to submit to Babar, was also opposing the pressure of the Rana and had not submitted to Sanga either.[44] Due to the recent activities of Sanga, on Nov. 26, 1526 A.D.[45] Babar sent Muhammad Ali Haider Ribabdar to Humayun with a word that as the eastern rebels were routed and Sanga was advancing because of the absence of the main army, to the east, the prince should return to Jaunpur, leave some of his amirs there and soon rejoin the -- emperor.[46] Humayun proceeded as far as Ghazipur and returned to Agra[47] on Jan., 6, 1527 A.D.[48] Khwaja Dost Khawind also arrived from Kabul on the same day.[49] Soon Babar busied himself in a conference with his ministers about plans to oppose Sanga.[50]

Though it is true that Sanga was advancing upon

Biana due to Babar's eastern commitment, it cannot be denied that Babar was also equipping himself with a better artillery park[51] to acquire Biana by force. On Oct.,22, 1526 A.D. Babar had gone to see the casting of a large cannon by Ustad Ali Quli for battering down the walls of the fort of Biana and other places[52]. About Oct., 31, 1526 A.D. a fresh expedition was sent against Biana under Alim Khan Jehengiri, the brother of Nizam Khan, with 250-300 Turks and 2000 Hindustani soldiers. By a brave sortie, Nizam Khan took Alim Khan captive[53]. Meanwhile news arrived that Sanga had devasted the country around Biana[54] and was approaching the fort with a huge army.[55] Nizam Khan was greatly frightened[56] and sought Syed Rafaa's mediation between him and Babar at this juncture.[57] The Syed on being assured that Nizam Khan, a true Mussalman, had not by that time submitted to Sanga agreed to intercede[58], Babar accepted the submission of Nizam Khan[59], who surrendered the fort of Biana to the Mughals.[60]

Dost Ishak-Agha was appointed by Babar as the temporary governor of Biana, and a few days later Mahdi Khwaja was sent as the governor of Biana with an allowance of 70 lakhs.[61]

Babar Captures Gwalior and Dholpur:

Operations were going on simultaneously at Gwalior where with the aid of Sanga,[62] Dermenkat, one of the members of the ruling family of Gwalior,[63] some nobles of that place[64] and Khan Jahan, had come into the vicinity of

the fort to obtain it by defection of the garrison.[65] Tatar Khan Sarangkhani, the Afgan governor of the fort, on learning about Sanga's advance against Biana,[66] offered to surrender it to Babar[67] and sought the Mughal aid against the besiegers[68]. So Babar sent Rahimdad with a party of Behreh men and Lahoris, accompanied by Imshiji Tunketar and his brothers. Mulla Apak and Shaikh Guran were also sent but they were to return after establishing Rahimdad in Gwalior.[69] The Mughal army defeated the allies of the Rana[70]. However, Tatar Khan changed his mind and refused to surrender the fort,[71] or make any submission to the Mughals[72]. Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus, a well-known dervish[73] who had recently become a partisan of Babar,[74] suggested a plan[75] by working on which Rahimdad acquired the fort in one night.[75] Meanwhile Muhammad Zeitun being helpless[76] surrendered Dholpur.[77]

Sanga Captures Biana :

The conquest of Biana, Gwalior and Dholpur aroused the ire of the Rana who also moved out to wrest Biana from Babar[78]. Babar sent an army against Husan Khan Mewati. Hasan Khan sought succour from Sanga.[79] The latter moved promptly to the aid of the former. Finding the war with Afgan-Rajput coalition inevitable and near at hand Babar distributed the treasure of Ibrahim Lodi amongst his soldiers[80] so that they be better accoutred for the coming war.

About Jan.,7, 1527 A.D. Mahdi Khwaja informed Babar that Sanga was advancing[81] to put Sultan Mahmud

Lodi on the throne of Delhi.[82] Mahdi Khwaja further added that Hasan Khan had also allied with the Rana and that their challenge should receive top priority from the Emperior through prompt aid. Babar sent an advance party of light force consisting of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Yunis Ali, Shah Manour Birlas, Kitteh Beg, Kasimi and Bujkeh to Biana. Nahir Khan, the son of Hasan Khan Mewati, who was captured by the Mughals in the battle of Panipat and whose release was a matter of correspondance between Babar and Hasan Khan, was also released, bestowed with a robe of honour for getting Hasan Khan out of the fold of the Rana into the Mughal arms. Babar had not forgotten to enter into some compact with Nahir Khan before his release but Hasan Khan, on learning about his son's emancipation marched out of Mewat and openly joined Sanga at Toda Bhim.[83] A clash between Sanga and Babar was now at hand. The claim of Dr. Gopinath[84] that "conflicting religious and cultural ideologies (mere) working * to bring about a clash between these two indomitable personalities of that age" is unfounded. Pure self-interest guided both the parties. Nothing on record proves anything beyond this.

The advance parties of the army of Rana Sanga, which was proceeding towards Biana, encountered the advance party of the Mughals under Kasimi. In the skirmishes which followed some 70 - 80 men are claimed by Babar to have been taken captive by the Mughals who disclosed to their captors the fact of Hasan Khan's having affected junction with the Rana. This news was immediately sent to Agra.[85]

On Feb., 10, 1527 A.D. Babar tested and tried the new gun moulded by Ustad Quli on Nov., 1, 1526 A.D., and its range was found to be 1,600 paces, which brought the reward of a complete dress, a dagger with belt and a Tipchek horse for the Ustad[86]. Feeling confident about his strength due to the park of artillery including this newly moulded cannon, Babar marched out of Agra on Feb., 11, 1527 A.D. He left the suburbs of the city and encamped in the adjoining plains, for collecting an army and giving it necessary instructions.[87] Orders for fresh recruitment were also issued.[88] From this place out of the Indian amirs in his suite - Alim Khan Jighet, was sent to Gwalior, Makan, Kasim Sanbali, Hamid with his brothers, and Muhammad Zeitun were despatched to Sambal to keep these unreliable Hindustanis away to prevent them from colluding with the Rana.[89] When Babar was encamped here, news arrived[90] "in succession"[91] that Sanga had come with his whole army[92] of countless heads[93] as far as Biana[94] much in advance of the party sent by Babar which could neither reach Biana nor communicate with the garrison.[95] The garrison made a sortie, suffered unexpected encounter with the Rajputs, and they were defeated[95]. The fort of Biana fell in the hands of the Rana[96]. Sanger Khan Janjuhet was killed and Kitten Beg who had participated in this skirmish without any armour, had a grievious cut on his shoulder[97] which invalided him for a considerable time and did not permit him to fight in the Battle of Kanwah.[98] The blade and bravery of the Rajputs received a fair respect from Kasimi,

Shah Mansur Birlas and others who returned to the imperial camp after this defeat.[98] It "struck unusual terror into king's small army".[99] Before leaving this first camp, Babar sent Kasim, the master of horse, to dig wells in the paragana of Madhakur where the army was next to encamp.[100] On Feb. 16, 1527 A.D. Babar left his camp near Agra[101], and moved to Madhakar[102]. Due to the lack of adequate water supply[103] on Feb. 17, Babar forestalling the Rana,[104] marched out in full battle, order for Sikri and camped on the spot selected already for its water-facilities by Dervish Muhammad Carban.[105] Scouts were sent to bring information about the Rajput army[106]. Orders were issued to Mahdi Khwaja to fall back upon Sikari to join the main army.[107] At this time Beg Birak Mughal, a servant of Humayun, sent to bring information about the whereabouts of Sanga's army, reported on Feb. 18[107] that the Rajput army was encamped two miles on the northern side of Basawar[108]. On the same day, Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza and the advance party sent to the aid of Biana returned and joined the main army at Sikri.[109] Soon the Rajput army reached Kanwah.[110] After reaching Kanwah, the Rana announced his arrival there by the furious beating of his war-drums.[111] Only six miles separated the two camps.[112]

About Feb. 18,1527 A.D. about 4 - 5000 Rajputs fell upon the scouts of Babar under Abdal Aziz, who, with about 1,000 to 1,500 men, had advanced as far as 10 miles from Sikri[113]. The imperialists lost several soldiers as

prisoners in the first clash. As soon as the intelli-
-gence of this engagement reached Babar, he despatched Muhibb Ali Khalifah, Mulla Hussain and others to re-inforce Abdal Aiz. Muhammad Ali Jeng-Jeng was sent to cover their retreat. Before this reinforcement could reach Abdal Aziz, his standard was taken by the adversaries and Mulla Niamet, Mulla Daud, and Mulla Apak's younger brother with several others were slain. As soon as the aid arrived the fight began anew under the leadership of Tahir Tibri, the maternal uncle of Muhibb Ali himself. However, this charge could not retrieve the defeat. Muhibb Ali himself was thrown down and surrounded by the enemies, and was extricated with great difficulty by Baltu.[114] The Rajputs pursued the Mughals for two miles, and decried the fleeing Mughals under Ali Jeng Jeng. The news of this defeat alerted Babar. In full order, with his mailed horses, armoured soldiers and artillary, he advanced two miles in search of the Rajputs. The enemy had retreated. The Mughals stayed at this place, leaving a large tank on their left for 20 - 25 days.[115] However, the panic in the Mughal camp (which was caused by the falls of Biana, the defeat of the Mughal advance guards, and the praise of the Rajput sword by Shah Mansur, Kasimi and others) was "completed" by the defeat of Abdal Aziz.[116] Disappointing news were coming from every quarter everyday.[117] Added to this panic was the fact that Babar's military preparations were not so far complete. Nor were his forces adequate. To cheer up his troopers, Babar employed this ~~time~~ period of

20-25 days in perfecting his defences by preparing the front line of chained guns, placed at the distance of 7 to 8 yards, in the fashion of the Turks. The portion left uncovered by this gun-line was protected by a ditch. And wherever the guns could not be placed, wheeled tripods were placed to bluff the enemy.[118] The hunt for new recruits, possibly, went on.[119]

Babar's Negotiations with Sanga:

During this period of 20-25 days from Feb. 19 onwards Kasim Hussain Sultan, the grandson of Sultan Hussain Mirza by one of his daughters, Ahmed Yusuf, Syed Yusuf, some members of the royal camp and a number of other men, in all 500 arrived from Kabul,[120] including Khwaja Khawind Naqshabandi,[121] Muhammad Sherif, an astrologer, and Baba Dost Suchi, who had been sent to Gazani for wine which he had brought three camel-string loadeful.[122] 1,000 troopers were sent to escort them into the Mughal camp, a fact which testifies to the blockade of the Mughals at Sikri. Their arrival was broadcasted with every available means to boost up the failing spirits of the Mughals and to discourage the enemy. This policy yielded good results.[123] However, the astrologer Muhammad Sherif circulated the forecast of the impending defeat of the Mughals on the pleas of the position of the Mars in the west, spreading discouragement in the camp.[124] Many officers of the State seriously advised Babar to retire to Punjab after fortifying some important forts and wait there for some propitious moment, an advice, which Babar manfully rejected on the ground as to what would be rulers

of Turki and Iran think and speak about him when he was to fly before the blade of the infidels.[125] And in spite of the general atmosphere of pessimism, Babar boldly went on with his preparations and kept on cheering his troops[126] for a 'crusada" against the infidels[127]. As if to pro--pitiate God for victory, Sanga also built a temple during these days at Sikandarabad, which, it is claimed, was standing at the time of the composition of Amar Kavya,[128] i.e., in the days of Rana Raj Singh.

It is difficult to explain this respite of 20-25 days to Babar except in the light of the negotiations hinted by Tarikh-i-Salatini Afgana[129] and Amar-Kavya[130]. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afgana holds that the overtures were made by Sanga while Amar Kavya asserts that the initiative was taken by Babar. The exact details of the terms are not given by Ahmed Yadgar exceipt the willingness expressed by Sanga through Mirza Hindal and Mahdi Khwaja to accept the vassalage of the Mughals on the death of Hasan Khan Mewati who was alleged to be the chief obstacle in the amiable Mughal-Rajput relations. Amar-kavya says that Babar sent an envoy with terms, according to which the territories upto Piliakhal were to be left in the hands of Sanga. It should be noted that in none of these authorities there is any mention of the intermediary character of Silhadi, who, according to several later day scholars,[131] was instrumental in conducting these negotiations, It is further alleged that Sanga at the instance of nobles inimical to Silhadi,[132] refused to accept these terms[133] and thus became chiefly responsible for bringing about the

war, which could have been avoided, and so also for offend--ing Silhadi who is said to have later on deserted to the Mughals due to failure on the part of the Rana to keep up to the agreement. When the intermediary role of Silhadi itself is baseless, the plea of his subsequent trechery due to the failure of these negotiens automatically fails.

On Feb. 24, 1528 A.D. Babar commissioned Sheikh Jamali to collect as many horsemen as possible from the Doab and Delhi and proceed with Mulla Turki Beg, who had come from Kabul, to create a diversion by plundering Mewat and "to leave nothing undone to annoy and distress these districts". Similarly, Maghfur Diwan was despatched to devastate other border and remote districts of Mewat and to carry off the inhabitants into captivity. These diversions failed and in Babar's own words "They (i.e. confederates) did not , however, appear to have suffered much from these proceedings."[134]

Babar's Vows:

The fall of Biana and the prediction of the astrologer Muhammad Sherif weighed heavily upon Babar and seem to have seriously undermined the morale of the Mughal army[135]. Kasim Khan deserted Babar and retired to Sambhal.[136] Possibly, others also followed suit.[137] So Babar planned to boost up their failing courage by taking an oath of renunciation of wine[138] on Feb. 25,1528 A.D.[139] Sale of liquor was prohibited in the camp "not more, perhaps, from adherence to his vow, than to keep his soldiers cool for action".[140] The drinking vassals of gold and silver were

broken up and the fragments of these vassels and other valuable utensils were distributed among dervishes and poor people.[141] Asas, a follower of Babar, also took similar vow[142] and that night and the following night[142] about 300 followers of Babar put themselves under these x vows.[143] The wine which was brought from Gazani by Baba Dost was turned into vinegar. The stock of wines into the camp was emptied and a big well was constructed on the spot where this liquid was poured[144]. Vows of giving up other forbidden things[145] and growing beard were also taken by Babar.[146] On the reminder of Dervish Muhammad Sarhan, Babar further renounced stamp duty from the Muslim subjects of his empire, a thing which he had promised to do long back[147] Octroi and tithe were also abolished[148]. A farman containing this decree and the news of the renunciation of wine by the emperor from the pen of Sheikh Zain (dated Feb. 26,1528 A.D.) was sent around the empire[149] for the benefit of the traders.[150]

Even this does not appear to have made any appreciable effect upon the failing morale of the Mughals. An uttar dejection and despiritendness blanketed the Mughal camp. So ~~almost~~ about March 10 or 11, 1528 A.D.[151] Babar further had to recourse to addressing personally the amirs and officers of the army and during the speech pointed out the inevitability of death and the desirability of dying with honour than to suffer life of ignomy[152]. This had an electric effect upon his followers, who, as if gripped by some wild frenzy, swore on Koran to die rather than live to witness defeat.[153] However, though the spirit of the

ordinary man rose through these tactics, the circumstances remained adamantly hostile. At this moment news arrived that Hussain Khan Lohani advanced upon Raberi and conquered it. Some Rustam Khan Lohani advanced and captured Koel, taking Kichak Ali prisoner. Zahid was com--pelled to evacuate Sambal and Sultan Muhammad Duldai retired from Kanauj and joined Babar. The Hindus blockaded the fort of Gwalior, and Alim Khan Jighet, who was sent to the succour of Gwalior garrison, retired to Kalpi. Haibet Khan Gurgandaz fled to Sambhal, while Hussain Khan Bariwal deserted to Sanga. Mass desertion of the Indian soldiers followed.[154]

After completing his military preparations and finding that the time was running against him, Babar, on March 12, 1928 A.D. moved out in full battle order. The front-line was formed by gun-carriages and moving tripods on wheels. Behind them stood Ustad Ali Guli with a body of matchlock-men, which acted as an instrument to prevent the cutting off of communication between the artillery and infantry. All the ranks were formed and Babar meticulously instructed each divison as to the position it was to occupy and the order of march it was to observe. Each men was similarly told how to conduct himself and engage the enemy. Thus animating, cheering and instructing his soldiers personally Babar ordered his army to move two x miles in full battle-order and halted there.[155] The Rajputs, on getting scent of this march, moved forward in several parties and advanced close to the Mughal guns and ditches.[156]

Babar refused to offer a general engagement that day[157], and simply sent some parties under Malik Hussain, Muhammad Kasim and Baba Kushqa Mughal[158] to skirmish with the opponents by way of taking omens,[159] i.e., to know the tactics they were going to employ to fight the Mughals. The Mughal party acquitted itself very creditably[160]. Malik Kasim showed good spirit in these engagements and the parties brought several heads of the enemy soldiers, which raised the morale of the Mughal army.[161]

Nextday(i.e. March, 13, 1528 A.D.) on the advice of Khalifah, Babar ordered a pitch to be thrown around the camp and fortify it, and set people to this work under competent superintendents.[162] On Saturday, March, 16(13th Jamal II) Mughal army moved forward by two miles to offer battle to the Rajputs on aground already selected for it in advance[163] near the hill[164] of the village Kanwah[165]. When the Mughals had pitched some tents[166] and were engaged in pitching others[167] that the news of the approach of the Rajput army was received[168]. Soon the army of the enemy was in sight[169]. So immediately Babar galloped, ordered his soldiers to repair to their respective posts and issued instructions to strengthen guns and lines[170] as was already rehearsed[171]. The lines were strengthened by means of wagons which were pulled up to the front line.[172] The battle began at about 9-30 A.M.[173]

<u>The Battle of Kanwah:</u>

The Rana had come to oppose the Mughals with an army consisting of about 2 laks and 1 thousand strong[174]

He was assisted by Silhad(Raisin) with 30,000 horse,[175] Rawal Udai Singh (Wagad), 12,000 horse,[176] Medini Rai, (Chanderi) with 12,000 horse[177](which included Bhupat Rai's 6,000 horse),[178], Hassan Khan (Mewat), 12,000 horse,[179] Bharmal (Idar), 4,000 horse,[180] Narbad Hada(Bundi) 4,000 horse[180], Kachhi Shatrudeo(Gagrun), 6,000 horse[181], Dharmdeo (Viramdeo(?):Merta), 4,000 horse,[182] Narsingh Deo Chauhan (Gwalior) 4,000 horse,[183] Mahmud Khan Lodi, the son of Sikandar Lodi, (the western Afgans), 10,000 horse,[184] Bahadur Hemladuri, 4,000 horse[185], Ganga (Bhati ?), 3,000 horse,[186] Karamsi[187], Prithvirajot Kachhawaha[188], and some followers of Hasan Khan Bariwal[189]. These allies amongst themselves contributed one lak and 1 thousand soldiers to the army of the Rana. Rao Chandrabhan (Bedala), Manikchand Chauhan (Kotharia) and Dalpatrai(each with 4,000 cavalry)[190] Bikarasi (3,000 horse)[190], Rawat Ratansingh (Salumber)[191], Rajarana Ajja[192] and Sajja[193] were the nobles of Mewar[194] who came to fight the Mughals at the behest of Sanga. The Rajput army was divided into four parts consisting of centre, right and left wings plus one supporting bloc to the centre.[195] 1,000 elephants led the van.[196] Babar opposed them with 20,000 soldiers.[197]

Babar formed his front line of gun-carriages, connected with each other by chains of raw hide, supported in the intermediary space by matchlock men and gunners which made the front "firm ... and immovable", as advised by Nizam--udding Ali Khalifah. Babar stood in the centre; and on his right were Chin Timur Sultan, Suleiman Shah, Khwajah

Dost Khwend, Yunis Ali, Shah Mansur Birlas, Dervish Muhammad Sarban, Abdullah Kitabdar and Dost Ishik-Agha. On the left of Babar were Alauddin Lodi, son of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, Sheikh Zein, Mahbub Ali, Tardi Beg, Sher Afgan, the son of Kuch Beg, Araish Khan, Khwajah Hussain. In the right wing stood Humayun. On the right of Humayun were stationed Kasim Hussain Sultan, Ahmed Yusuf Aghalkchi, Hindu Beg Kuchin, Khusarou Gokultash, Kewam Beg Urdu Shah Wali Kasim Karaguzi, Pir Kuli Sistani, Khwajah Pehelwan Badakshi, Abdul Shakur, Suleiman Agha, the ambassador of Irak, and Hussain, the ambassador of Sistan. On the left of Humayun were posted Murtiza, Mir Hameh, Muhammadi Gok--ultash, Khwajahgi Asad Jalandar. In the right wing stood Dilawar Khan the son of Daulat Khan, Milikdad Karrani, Sheikh Gurun. In the left wing were posted Syed Mahdi, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, the son of Mahadi Sul--tan, Abdal Aziz Mir Akhur, Muhammad Ali Jengjeng, Kutluk Kadem Kerawal, Shah Hussain Yareti, Moghal Ghanchi, Jan Beg Atkeh, Jalal Khan, Kamal Khan, the sons of Alauddin Lodi, Khan Sheikhazada Farmuli and Nizam Khan. An "tulughmeh" (or flanking unit) Terdikeh and Malik Kasim, the brother of Baba Kashkeh, were posted with a party of the Mughal soldiers on the right wing; and Mumin Atkeh and Rustam Turkoman Bashligh, with a party of Babar's own guards, were posted on the left wing. Sultan Muhammad Bakshi was the immediate officers close to Babar to carry orders from the emperor and convey them to different units. It was commanded that no person was to move from his post nor was any one to fight without orders.[198] The battle

in the morning. Both the armies stood before each other in a way that the centre of one stood before the centre of the other. The Rajput attacked the left wing of their enemy in a desparate charge to signalise the beginning of the battle. A severe charge was felt by the unit of Khusarou Gokultash, Malik Kasim and Baba Kashkeh. Chin Timur Sultan was despatched to re-informce this wing. The Rajputs were pushed back to their centre. Mustafa Rumi brought a cannon and fired ranges directed by Humayun. The matchlock men and gunners also pointed their weapons upon the Hindus. Kasim Sultan Hussain, Ahmed Yusef and Kewan Beg were sent to re-inforce the right wing which suffered the brunt of the Rajput left. The Rajputs attacked in waves after waves trying desperately to break the opposite units of their enemy. The pressure on the right wing was very strong. So Hindu Beg Kuchin, Muhammad Gokultash, Khwajahgi Asad, and afterwards Yunis Ali, Shah Mansur Birlas, Abdullah Kitabdar, Dost Ishek-Agha, Muhammad Khalil Aktehbegi were sent to relieve it. The left wing was also under fire of the repeated Rajput att--acks. They fell desparately upon their opponents and did a great deal of execution. So Munim Atkeh and Rustam Mahmud, Nizamuddin Ali Khalifah, and Ali Atkeh Bashligh were sent to support them. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, Andal Aziz Mir Akhur, Kuluk Kadem Kerawal, Mumammad Ali Jeng-Jeng, Sjaj Hussain Yaregi, Moghal Ghanchi, having been attacked, maintained their own against

heavy odds and were re-inforced by Khwajah Hussain.[199] Both the parties fought with swords, arrows and spears.[200] When the battle was raging furiously Mahdi Khwaja attacked Hasan Khan Mewati[201]. Hasan Khan was struck in his forehead by an arrow[202]. Feeling himself unable to fight further, he left the field.[203] When the fight was waging furiously orders were issued to the soldiers behind the cannons to issue out to fall upon the enemy from the right and lefft of the centre to avoid the artillery fire directed with great accuracy and dexterity by Ustad Ali Kuli which was showering fire upon the Rajput ranks. At this moment orders for pushing forward the gun-carriages and tripods were issued. Babar led this charge personally. The heaviest part of the battle commenced. The soldiers of both the sides got mingled up and the real trial of strength began. The pressure of the right and left wings, and the attack of the flanking parties in the rear pushed the Rajputs - right, left and centre, into one place - a feat indicative of the superior strategy of Babar, where the fire of the cannons of Ustad Ali Kuli was directed. The Rajputs made a final desperate charge on the right and left of the Mughal Centre in their final bid to break through the ring of the enemy units[204]. Blood flew in torrents as never witnessed before[205] and the heaps of corpses grew into hillocks[206]. The Mughals struck their opponents with great dexterity by arrows of unfailing accuracy[206]. However, Rajput succeeded through the sheer force of their charge in reaching out to the left wing[206]

and also succeeded in escaping from the encirclement which if intact would not have let alive any Rajput out of its circumsference. However, the cost of this achievement was very heavy though not one-sided. Though the Rajputs suffered heavily on the whole in this battle and chiefly in its last phase, they managed to extricate themselves out of the Mughal military ring and succeeded in reaching out to their camp, leaving several thousand of their followers dead behind.[207]

It is said that the Sanga watched the progress of the battle from a roofted-parapet on an adjoining hill[208]. Finding the tide of the battle going against him he rushed into the field, got wounded[209] and left the field[210] along with Sajja Jhala[211] about mid-day[212]. He found refuge in Mewat at a place about six miles from the battle field on the bank of Piliakhal[213]. The pressure of the Mughals on the Rajputs increased greatly which set the nobles of Mewar and other chieftains athinking[214]. Ultimately Jhala Ajja was approached and put on the back of the royal elephant with the royal umbrella; the battle went on[215]. Raja Rana Ajja fought bravely and died fighting[216]. Soon the news of the removal of the Rana out of the field became known to his partisans. The spirit departed from their efforts. Many princes who had participated in this battle on behalf of Mewar for the first time due to the presence of Sanga, left the field[217] though it cannot be said of the nobles of Mewar (as the list of the dead shows). The nobles of Mewar fought to their end and nearly defeated

Babar. Though it was not victory which they could bring to Mewar, they did succeed in covering the retreat of the main army. The battle lasted from morning to evening[218]

Though we have no list of the deads from the Mughal side, the Rajputs lost Rawal Udai Singh, Rai Chahdrabhan Chauhan, Manik Chand Chauhan, Dilpat Rai, Gangu, Karamsingh Rao Nikersi[219] Rawat Ratansingh Chundawat, Raimal Rathor and Khetasi Rathor of Merta, Ramdas Sonigara, Ajja Jhala, Gopaldas Parmar etc.[220] Jagmal of Dungarpur was wounded[221] on March 17, the Rajputs cremated their dead nobles.[222] The skulls of the remaining corpses provided material for a pyramid which Babar built on the top of the adjoin-ing hill on the left of the Mughal camp one or two days after the battle[223] According to Massir-ul-Umara, the name of the place Sikri was also changed into Shukri[224] The pursuit of the retreating Rajput army[225] failed[226]. Babar's cautious remark about his simply reaching the Rajput camp[227] without any reference to any attack or booty provides a strong ground for believing the state-ment of Amar Kavya [228] that the Mughal did not dare to attack it. However, the camp of Hassan Khan was looted which left ample booty in the hands of the Mughals[229]. Babar's self-condmnation for no having personally led the army sent under Muhammadi, Abdal Aziz, Ali Khan and others in close pursuit of the Rajputs to prevent their reass-embling,[230] is also an indirect admission of this fact. It was now evening and both the parties returned to their camps[231] exhausted and with a fair mutual respect for

for the blade of the other. Babar's sending of a detach-ment under Muhammad Ali Jeng-Jeng Sheikh Gurun, Abdal Maluk Korchi against Ilias Khan, the conqueror of Koel and the captor of Kichik Beg, in the Doab, next day after this battle[221] further supports the view that the remain-ing Rajputs retreated next day without molestation from the Mughals and that this army was neither totally defeated not completely dispersed as claimed by Fatah-nama of Sheikh Zain[232] and the account of Abul Fazl[233]. It is most probable that the remaining Rajput army retreated via Biana to Ranthambhor. Babar went after them but not on their heels, to Biana.[234] All along the road to Biana and even upto Mewat, dead bodies of the retreating Rajputs were found scattered. It is difficult to make out, even by reading between the lines of the Memoirs, whether any engagement took place at Biana between the Rajputs and the Mughals. The absence of any direct reference to the occupation of Biana, with or without engagement, lends a special significance to Babar's statement, "I went and surveyed Biana, and then returned to the camp".[234] Instead of returning to capture, and if it was captured, to inspect, Biana, Babar sent for the Hindustani and Turki amirs to meet him in his camp for deliberations about the desirability of penetrating into the kingdom of Sanga beyond Biana. All opined against the proposal.[234] What reasons prompted them to do so can better be guessed than expected from the Memoirs. The Rajputs were only heavily hurt but not vanquished at Kanwah and the position of the Mughals had not improved

beyond the word "survey" of Biana in spite of about a week's stay of Babar there.[235] The plea "of the want of water on the road, and of the excessive heat of the season"[236] made out by Babar to explain the calling off of the plan to attack the region beyond Biana though true do not speak the whole truth. Abul Fazl, on the other hand, says that after "so great a victory" there remained no understandable reason to attack the country of the Rana.[237] In other words, Babar could not proceed into Mewar at this stage.

Finding it difficult to invade Rajputana, Babar turned towards Mewar,[238] where, after the demise of Hasan Khan Mewati, the Mughal protigee, Nahir Khan was ruling. Probably, due to the recent losses and his of late accession, Nahir Khan (who had entered into some campact with Babar before his release from the Mughal captivity on the eve of the Battle of Kanwah) submitted to the Mughals.[239] Mughal tax-collectors were appointed and Khutaba in the name of Babar was read in Mewat.[240] Babar visited the fort of Alwar on April 3,1527 A.D.[241] On April 11 he moved from Alwar for Manasni, where he stayed for 3 or 4 days to see off Humayun to Kabul[242]. The bestowal of Shikdari of Biana on Dost Ishak-Agha[243] at this time suggests the despatch of a Mughal force to subdue that country[244] and not the conquest of Biana by this time, as some would be prone to think. From Manasni Babar moved through the paragana Kuhri, to Toda Bhim and thence to Somgir, where the intelligence about the flight of Nahir Khan from the custody of Abdal Rahim was received.[245]

The arrival of Dost Ishak-Agha from Biana at the same time to Somgir[246] raises a suspicion of some increased Rajput activities in that region which resulted in the flight of Dost Ishak-Agha to the emperor. Babar had again to return to Biana, which was again ' surveyed'[247] a word harly acceptable as a substitute or synonyms of "Conquest" From Biana Babar proceeded to Sikri, halted there for 2 days, and reached Agra[248] on April, 25,1527 A.D.[249] Except some (doubtful ?)gains in Mewat, Babar gained nothing between Feb. 11 (when he left to fight Sanga) and April 25 (when he returned to this city after the battle of Kanwah). And as everybody knows that Mewat was an ally of Sanga and not a dependency, it is evident, even from the Memoirs, that Sanga did not lose any piece of territory to Babar by the debacle of Kanwah. Babar simply recovered after this battle the strip beyond Biana upto Sikri, lost to Sanga since Feb.11, a gain not at all commensurate with the loud-sounding claim of victory as made by Sheikh Zain and Abul Fazl. Biana was still in the hands of the Rana. Babar had to frame excuses to make his inability to invade Rajputana. Al Badaoni[250] is silent about the material gains of this battle, Farishta[251] simply gives the list of the dead amirs from the Rajput sides, and Nizamuddin Ahmed[252] gives an account more fanciful than historical. The Rajput sources are not unanimous in their views about the result of this battle. Amar-kavya[253], the Vanshavalis[254] of Mewar and Raj-prakash[255] represent it as the victory of the Rana, Amar-Kavya

further asserts that Piliakhal became the border line between Sanga and Babar. Nobody can dispute the testimony of Amar-Kavya in this respect, as Babar himself has admitted his inability to invade the territories of the Rana. The chroniclers of Jodhpur - Muhnot Nensi[256] and Bikaner - Jethu[257] - represent it as Rana's defeat. Vithu is a contemporary authority. He further asserts that some elephants and horses of the Rana were lost to Babar. Babar himself does not make himself bold to assert with his own pen "a great victory" over Sanga[258] but there is no serious ground for believing in the fact that Babar won at Kanwah. But the net economic loss to Sanga therefrom was some elephants and nothing more. No territorial loss was suffered by the Rana as its result. So one can say that the outcome of the battle of Kanwah was inclusive. For Babar it was a military victory without any territo--rial gain and far Sanga it was a military defeat without any economic or territorial loss. So it gave a sort of justifiable ground to both the parties to claim victory for their sides over the opponent. Babar could claim victory because of the military success; and the Rajputs could also claim success because of the absence of any loss. In fact what one should say is that it was neither victory for Sanga nor Babar. Both parties suffered equally in this clash and then retired to their lairs to lick and nourse their wounds. It was a major set-back to both. At best it was a defeat for Sanga but not victory for Babar.

Causes of the set-back of Kanwah:

One of the chief reasons for the check of the Rajput army was its heterogeneous composition of several nationalities. Two-third of this army was for the first time serving under the Rana.[259] It had no previous common training to be wielded into one fighting machine in which each unit knew is station and job.[260] Sanga had fought on the traditional mass wave factics principle of falling rashly upon the enemy and push him back by sheer force of dash, the personal bravery of the combatants, and the onward motion of the elephants, causing several breaches in the enemy line which ultimately provid victory for the attackers. The Rajput army at Kanwah was not formed into a line broad enough to cover the Mughal line. Arranged in a compact block of centre, left, right and a cushion behind the centre it offered itself as a convenient target for the well-spread out units of Babar and rendered it possible for the flanking divisions to throw up a circle around them with the help of the extreme left and extreme right wings of the Mughal army. There was neither any common strategy nor any dis-cernable plan worth its name in the moves of the Rajput units. The Rajputs led their units in successive waves, many of which fell indiscreetly upon the enemy centre where concentrated artillery fire of Ustad Ali Quli broke their ranks like anything. In their attacks on the left and right wings of the enemy they failed in avoiding the danger of getting concentrated before the cannons of the centre where their greatest execution was taking

place . With no artillery of his own, by simply attacking the Mughal rear, Sher Shah forced it into centre of the Mughal line and not only immobilized the enemy artillery but also completed the defeat of the enemy by that artillery itself[261] Had Sanga cared to learn the - Mughal strategy before he came to grips with Babar, similar results were not impossible for him also.

Another reason for this set-back was the absence of any tie between different nationalities which composed the confederation. The nobles of Mewar, the rulers of the remaining states of Rajputana, and the fugitive and des--erting Afgans had nothing in common amongst themselves to help in forging a common front of one will. The chief motive of the Afgans in this camp was their desire to re-conquer the throne of Delhi; while the different rulers of Rajputana had collected to fight Babar for no other noble purpose than the pressure of Sanga. Even amongst the Rajputs themselves, there could not be much of a fraternity between Sanga and the rulers of Rajasthan because the narrow outlook, which characterised their past and locked them in the petty clan interests, could not be removed simply by the moral pressure and political position of Sanga. About 10 chieftains in this army had never fought on behalf of Sanga in any battle before[262] On the other hand, there was everything there to make them dislike Sanga who was, possibly thinking in terms of some greater Rajasthan under the hegemony of the House of Mewar, which might have seriously limited the local independence of the different rulers within its orbit.[263]

Psychologically the Afgans were ill-prepared to cooperate with the Rajputs against their co-religionists (cf.Nizam Khan of Biana). Added to this was Babar's declaration that he was invited to attack India by Sanga under a plan smacking a division of the empire of the western Afgans. It created a psychological rift between the Rajputs and the Afgans. The charge of complicity of Sanga in the murder of Hasan Khan Mewati by Ahmad Yadgar[264] was the off-spring of the declaration of Sanga's invitation and Babar- Sanga negotiations after Feb. 19 which not only offered much needed time to Babar for completing his preparations but also aroused the suspi--cions of the Afgans. Babar employed this time in politico-religious propaganda[265], the effect of which might not have been lost upon the Afgans. Not only,these negotiations offered time to Babar for his military preparations but also transferred the initiative in the hands of Babar who imposed the battle upon Sanga on a spot which was most disadvantageous to the Rajputs. This also explains the fact of the battle being fought by Sanga at a time when the time was running against Mughals through revolts in different provinces and desertions in the army. It was a great diplomatic error on the part of Sanga to have accepted to fight at the time when, if time were permitted its own ~~game~~ course, would have greatly weakened the Mughal side. The tiring out of the Mughal units by marches and counter-marches would have been a better tactic than a straight fight in which the artillery gave distinct advantage to the enemy. Added

to this was the failure on the part of Sanga to impose a war on Babar at the time when Humayun was in the east[266] or immediately after the defeat of the Mughals about Feb., 18, when the Mughals were psychologically prostrate.[267]

And again the better discipline, the through train--ing, the rehearsal of the marching order and the battle-line, and the advice to each company as well as soldier about their part and work were also a great factor con--tributing to the Mughal victory as the presence of the elephants in the centre, facing the enemy fire, ~~in the presence of the elephants in the centre, facing the enemy fire,~~ in the Rajput ranks would have hastened their dis--aster[268]. The complete absence of any reference to the part played by the elephants in the Fatahnama is a - reliable clue for the inference about the refusal on the part of these elephants to move forward in ~~the~~ face of artillery fire. They might have ran back, causing havoc in the ranks of the Rajputs in the very initial moments of the conflict. And it is well to remember that the Rajputs swords, spears and arrows[269] were no match to Babar's matchlocks and cannons[270]. It is a wonder that matchlocks and some other fire arms used by the Gujaratis in the siege of Mandu (1518 A.D.)[271] were unknown to the Rajputs.

Lastly, possibly, some treachery was also at work. Tabkat-i-Akbari[272] openly admits that "an unseen army helped the cause of Islam". It is also claimed that the

army of Hasan Khan left the field after the exit of their leader.[272] Possibly, partly to hide this treachery Ahmad Yadgar blames Sanga for double dealing. Dungarpur Ki Khyat also says that one Jagga Mehta revealed the weakness of the Rajput camp to Babar.[273]

FOOTNOTES

(1) Memoirs of Babar I/4; Tab.II/1. Babar descended from Chingiz Khan from his maternal side (Memoirs.I/9).

(2) The Arabic History of Gujarat,III/937.

(3) Memoirs I/10.

(4) ibid,II/180,183; Farishta II/44; Al Badaoni I/440; Tab.II/19-20; Akbar Nama (Beveridge Tr.),I/245; The Arabic History of Gujarat I/128. Gulbadan Begam (Humayun Nama: Beveridge Tr.,p.94) puts the figure of Ibrahim's army at 80,000 calvalry and 1,500 elephants. Makhzen Afgani (Dorn Tr, I/78) says that Ibrahim had 100,000 calvalry and 5,000 elephants, while Ahmad Yadgar (Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afgana: Elliot V/28) gives 50,000 horse and 2,000 elephants. Babar's own followers at this time consisted of 15,000 both infantry and cavalry (Al Badaoni I/440; Akbar Nama I/245; Tab. II/20. Ahmad Yadgar (Elliot V/28) gives 24,000. Ibrahim led his vast army and huge elephants without any strategic manoeuvring against Babar as if to terrify the latter into flight to Kabul (Hasan-i Rambu: Ahsanut Tawarikh (Seddon Tr.),II/96). Al Badaoni (I/442) and Ahsanut Tawarikh (II/96) say that Ibrahim was captured and later on killed by the Mughals.

(5) Memoirs II/185.

(6) cf. ibid.,II/261.

(7) cf. ibid I/183; Al Badaoni I/439; Tab.II/20; Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/27.

(8) Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,p.23.

(9) cf. Memoirs II/248; Farishta II/50.

(10) Memoirs II/244.

(11) ibid.,II/247.

(12) ibid.,II/247; Akbar Nama I/251. See also Al Badaoni I/444 and Tab.II/26.

(13) Tab.II/29.

(14) Memirs II/254.

(15) ibid.,II/254; Tab.II/29. Hasan appears to be holding the fort of Kandhar on behalf of his father Makan (cf. Memoirs II/254).

(16) Memoirs II/254.

(17) Akbar Nama I/255. Nor had Makan waited upon Babar (Memoirs II/254).

(18) Memoirs II/254.

(19) ibid.,II/251.

(20) ibid.,II/253-54.

(21) ibid.,II/240,254.

(22) ibid.,II/254; Farishta II/49; Al Badaoni I/444.

(23) Memoirs II/254-55.

(24) ibid.,II/255. See also Al Badaa Badaoni I/444; The Arabic History of Gujarat,III/440.

(25) Kavi Rao: Kavitta Sanga ra, verse 7 (See Appendix G).

(26) Tab.II/29. Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.24) says that Sanga conquered Kandhar and "established his rule over 200 cities ". He quotes Memoirs of Babar (Beveridge Tr.,II/262) in his support. It is an incorrect inference from Shaikh Zain's Fatamnama which refers to to the power of Sanga and not the conquests of the Rana after the fall of Kandhar

(27) cf. Memoirs II/259.

(28) ibid.,II/254-55.

(29) ibid.,II/255. Tab. (II/29-30) says that this party was sent against Biana after the conquest of Dholpur, which is incorrect.

(30) ibid.,II/256; Tab. II/30; Akbar Nama I/255; Farishta II/51.

(31) Kandhar and Kanauj are almost equidistant (Kandhar 135 miles and Kanauj 125 miles) from Agra.

(32) Akbar Nama I/255.

(33) Memoirs II/256;

(34) ibid.,II/256; Akbar Nama I/256.

(35) Memoirs II/256-7; Akbar Nama I/256; Tab. II/30-1; Farishta II/51. The Arabic History of Gujarat (III/941) disagrees with it and says that Humayun was at first sent against Dholpur; later on recalled to march against the eastern Afgans (III/942).

(36) Memoirs II/256; Tab. II/31.

(37) Farishta II/51.

(38) Memoirs II/264. See also Tab.II/34 and Akbar Nama I/257.

(39) cf. ibid.,II/260; Farishta II/51; Akbar Nama I/256.

(40) For the assassination of Ibrahim see n.4 above.

(41) Ahmad Yadgar: Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afgana,Elliot V/36.

(42) Tab. II/31.

(43) ibid.,II/34.

(44) Farishta II/51.

(45) Memoirs II/264. Akbar Nama (I/258) gives Nov.1526 A.D.

(46) ibid.,II/264. See also Akbar Nama I/256 and Al Al Badaoni I/445.

(47) ibid.,II/271-72; Akbar Nama I/258; Tab. II/34-35; Farishta II/54; Al Badaoni I/446.

(48) Memoirs II/272.

(49) Tab. II/35.

(50) ibid.,II/35; Amar Kavya, leaf 29(b). Dr. Gopinath wrongly quotes this piece from Amar Kavya for the meeting held in Agra before Humayun's eastern campaign (referred to in n.30 above).

(51) Tab. II/35.

(52) Memoirs II/262.

(53) ibid.,II/204-5.

(54) Al Badaoni ~~II/~~ I/445.

(55) Memoirs II/265.

(56) Tab. II/31.

(57) Memoirs II/265; Akbar Nama I/257; Farishta II/51. The name of Syed Rafaa was Mir Rafiuddin Safvi (Al Badaoni I/445; Tab. II/31) who had migrated to India in the reign of Sikandar Lodi (Al Badaoni I/445).

(58) Tab. II/31.

(59) Farishta II/51.

(60) ibid.,II/51; Memoirs II/265.

(61) Memoirs II/265.

(62) cf. ~~Memoirs II~~/Farishta II/53.

(63) Memoirs II/266.

(64) Tab. II/32.

(65) Memoirs II/266.

(66) Tab. II/32.

(67) ibid.,II/32; Memoirs II/266; Al Badaoni I/445.

(68) Farishta II/52.

(69) Memoirs II/266.

(70) Farishta II/52.

(71) Memoirs II/266.

(72) Tab. II/32; Al Badaoni I/445.

(73) Farishta II/52.

(74) Tab. II/32.

(75) ibid.,II/32-3; Memoirs II/266; Al Badaoni I/445; Farishta II/53

(76) Tab. II/34.

(77) ibid.,II/34; Memoirs II/267; Farishta II/53; Al Badaoni I/445.

(78) Tab. II/34.

(79) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/36.

(80) ibid., Elliot V/37.

(81) Memoirs II/272.

(82) Al Badaoni I/444; Farishta II/54.

(83) Memoirs II/272-73.

(84) Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,p.25. All the later remarks of Dr. Gopinath (p.26) are nothing else than mere outburst of sentimentalism.

(85) Memoirs II/274.

(86) Memoirs II/274-75. Tab. (II/35) speaks about the reward but does not mention the items.

(87) ibid.,II/275; Akbar Nama I/259; Tab. II/35.

(88) Tab. II/36.

(89) Memoirs II/275; Farishta II/54.

(90) Memoirs II/275; Tab. II/35-6.

(91) Tab. II/36.

(92) Memoirs II/275.

(93) Tab. II/36.

(94) ibid.,II/36; Memoirs II/275.

(95) Memoirs II/275. Tab. (II/36) does not explicitly admit the defeat of the garrison but it is implicit in Sanga's advance upon Basawar (Tab.II/36).

(96) Akbar Nama I/259. Farishta (II/54) does not refer to the capture of Biana by the Rana and attributes this gain to the Afgans. Al Badaoni (I/445) speaks ~~about~~ of the damage to the country but not of the capture Biana by Sanga. Babar also does not admit the loss of Biana and simply speaks of the officers who returned from Biana (II/275).

(97) ibid.,I/260; Memoirs II/275.

(98) Memoirs II/275.

(99) Farishta II/54.

(100) Memoirs II/275.

(101) ibid.,II/276; Akbar Nama I/260.

(102) Memoirs II/276; Akbar Nama I/260; Tab. II/36. Madhakar is called Mandovar in Ain-i Akbari (Jarret Tr. II/182) and Mandhakar in Tab. (II/36).

(103) Akbar Nama II/260.

(104) Memoirs II/276.

(105) ibid.,II/276; Akbar Nama II/260.

(106) Tab. II/36.

(107) Memoirs II/276.

(108) ibid.,II/276; Tab. II/36; Akbar Nama I/260.

(109) Memoirs II/276-77.

(110) ibid.,II/277. Cf. Al Badaoni I/445. Dr. Gopinath's View (op. cit.,p.33) that Sanga reached Kanwah on March 13 is incorrect. Kanwah is ($27^{\circ}2'$ N and $77^{\circ}33'$S)

on the bank of Banganga, 13 miles south of the city of Bharatpur.

(111) Amar Kavya, leaf 29(b); Raj Prakash, leaf 16(b).

(112) cf. Farishta II/55-6; Tab. II/36.

(113) Memoirs II/277.

(114) ibid.,II/277-78.

(115) ibid.,II/278.

(116) ibid.,II/278.

(117) Farishta II/54.

(118) Memoirs II/278.

(119) cf. Tab. II/36.

(120) Memoirs II/278-79. Gulbadan Begam (op. cit.,p.100) says that simply 30-40 Khurasanis came.

(121) Al Badaoni I/446.

(122) Memoirs II/279.

(123) Gulbadan Begam,op. cit.,p.100. This is an admission of the complete blockade of the Mughals at Sikari which Babar deliberately conceals. Under similar circumstances Muhammad Tughlaq had also played the same trick on Ainulmulk (The Rehla of Ibn Battuta: Mehdi Hussain Tr.,p.104).

(124) Memoirs II/279; Farishta II/54-5.

(125) Farishta II/55; Al Badaoni I/446; Tab. II/36-7.

(126) Memoirs II/279.

(127) cf. Tab. II/37; Al Badaoni I/446.

(128) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(b).

(129) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/36. See also Fatahnama of Sheikh Zain (Memoirs II/291).

(130) Amar Kavya, leaf 29(b).

(131) cf. Vir Vinod I/364; Tod, op. cit.,I/356; Thakur Gopal Singh Tathor: Jaimalvamshaprakasha I/80. Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.21) goes one step forward than all these authorities by emphasising that Babar's negotiations bemfere his attack on India were mooted to Sanga through Silhadi, which, to say the least, is fantastic.

(132) Vir Vinod I/365.

(133)ibiid, I/365; Banerji, op. cit.,p.90; Tod, op. cit. I/356.

(134) Memoirs II/279.

(135),Gulbadan Begam, op. cit.,p.99.

(136) Farishta II/54.

(137) Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99.

(138) ibid.,p.99; Memoirs II/280.

(139) Memoirs II/290. Gulbadan's statement (op. cit.,p.99) that Babar gave up drinking two dayss before the Battle of Kanwah is incorrect.

(140) Farishta II/55.

(141) Memoirs II/280; Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99.

(142) Memoirs II/280.

(143) ibid,II/280-81. Gulbadan (op. cit.,p.99) gives their number as 400.

(144) ibid,II/280. This well was completed in Sept.1528 A.D. When Babar visited Gwalior (ibid.,II/281).

(145) ibid.,II/280; Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99.

(146) Memoirs II/280.

(147) ibid.,II/281; Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99.

(148) Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99.

(149) Memoirs II/281. For the text of the Farman see II/281.

(150) Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99.

(151) cf. Memoirs II/286-87.

(152) ibid.,II/286; Gulbadan, op. cit.,p.99. Gulbadan Begam says that besides the officers and the amirs other camp-followers were also included in the gathering to hear this address.

(153) Memoirs II/287; Al Badaoni I/446-47; Farishta II/55; Tab. II/37-8.

(154) Memoirs II/287.

(155) ibid.,II/288; Farishta II/56. See also Amar Kavya, leaf 30(a).

(156) Memoirs II/288; Farishta II/56.

(157) Memoirs II/288.

(158) Farishta II/56.

(159) Memoirs II/288.

(160) Farishta II/56.

(161) Memoirs II/288.

(162) ibid.,II/288.

(163) ibid.,II/288; Farishta II/56.

(164) Memoirs II/289.

(165) Farishta II/56.

(166) Memoirs II/288-89.

(167) ibid II/289; Farishta II/56.

(168) Memoirs II/289.

(169) Farishta II/56.

(170) ibid.,II/56; Memoirs II/289.

(171) Farishta II/56.

(172) Memoirs II/289.

(173) ibid.,II/300.

(174) The strength of the army of Sanga is variously estimated. Memoirs (II/293) and Akbar Nama (I/261) give 2,01,000; Gulbadan (op. cit.,p.98), about 2 lakhs; Courteilles (Fragments: Appendix C to Memoirs of Babar, Leyden and Erskine Tr.,p. 436), Raj Prashasti (IV/15) and Vithu Suja (Chhanda Rao Jetsi ra: Tessitori's Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana: Biblotheca Indica, New Series, No.1434, p.31, verse 135) give 2 lakhs; and Farishta (II/54) and Maasir-ul Umara (Beveridge Tr.) II/202) give 1 lakh. A Kavitta on Raja Rana Ajja (See Appendix K) gives 1 lakh cavalry and 3 lakhs foot. In the same strain Mirza Muhammad Haider (Tarikh-i Rashidi: Elias and Ross Tr.,p.402) estimates the army of Sanga at "several hundred thousands". These are obviously exaggerations.

The figure 1 lakh given by Farishta and Maasir seems to refer to the quota of Mewar and not the aggregate of the forces of this confederacy. The strength of the army of Mewar under Sanga as given in Vanshavali ৪২৪ (leaf 59(b)) and Vanshavali ৪৭৪ (leaf ~~৪৭৪, leaf~~ 63(a)) was 1 lakh 8 thousand, and, according to Vanshavali ৪৭২ (pp.122-23), 1 lakh and 9 thousand.('৪' in Mewari numerals changes at the hands of a fast scribe into '9': See Chart II facing p.9৪ of Tiwari: Some Undetermined Dates of Mewar, Jou. Uni. Poona, 1955).

(175) Memoirs II/293; Akbar Nama I/261.

(176) Memoirs II/293,306; Akbar Nama I/261. Courteilles

(176) contd-
(Memoirs. II/437) gives 12,000. Farishta (II/54) calls him Deo Raja of Bagar. He was accompanied by his son Jagmal (Dungarpur ki Khyat,leaf 27).

(177) Memoirs II/293; Akbar Nama I/261. Courteilles does not mention their forces separately.

(178) Meoirs II/306.

(179) ibid.,II/293; Courteilles II/437; Akbar Nama I/261.

(180) Memoirs II/293; Akbar Nama I/261. Courteilles does not mention their forces separately.

(181) Memoirs II/293; Courteilles, Memoirs II/437; Akbar Nama I/261.

(182) Memoirs II/293; Akbar Nama I/261.

(183) Memoirs II/293; Courteilles, Memoirs II/437; Akbar Nama I/261.

(184) Memoirs II/293; Akbar Nama I/261; The Arabic History of Gujarat, III/942. Courteilles (Memoirs II/437) gives 12,000 under Mahmud Lodi.

(185) Courteilles: Memoirs II/437.

(186) Memoirs II/306. See also Mensi II/324.

(187) ~~ibi~~ cf. ibid.,II/306.

(188) Mensi II/26

(189) cf. Memoirs II/287.

(190) Memoirs II/306.

(191) Oza: Raj. Iti. II/1192.

(192) ibid.,II/1182.

(193) Mensi II/474.

(194) cf. Memoirs II/292.

(195) See the plan of the Battle of Kanwah in Rushbrook

William, op. cit.,150.

(196) Vanshavali 828 (leaf 59(b)), Vamshavali 878 (leaf 63(b)) and Sujajvansha (leaf 47(a)) hold that Sanga had 7,000 elephants, while Vanshavali 872 (p.123) gives only 100. As we know that '1' of Mewari numeral is many times confused with '0', it appears that 7,000 is a mistakening rendering of 1,000. The figure 100 of Vanshavali 872 is a corruption of 1,000.

(197) Farishta (Lithographic edi.),II/437.

(198) Memoirs II/296-300.

(199) ibid.,II/300-02.

(200) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(a).

(201) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/36.

(202) Al Badaoni I/449.

(203) Ibid.,I/447; Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/36. See also Makhzen Afgani (Dorn Tr)I/101.

(204) Memoirs II/302-5; Farishta II/58; The Arabic History of Gujarat, III/944.

(205) Amar Kabya, leaf 30(a).

(206) Memoirs II/305.

(207) cf. Memoirs II/307.

(208) A monument still stands on the spot where, according to the local tradition, Sanga sat and watched the progress of the battle. This information is supplied by Rawat Chaturbhujdas Chaturvedi, Curator, State Museum, Bharatpur, in his letter dated Sept.20,1956 (No.391/21311/56).

(209) Vithu: Kavitta Roa Jetsi ra (Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana by Tessitori),p.32. A Kavitta on

Ajja (Appendix K) says that Sanga fainted.

(210) Farishta II/58; Nensi II/478; Rajavali (without pagination). Erskine (Babar and Humayun,I/474) says that but for some nobles, who threw themselves in the way of the pursuers, the Rana would have been captured. This is incorrect. The Rana was not resent at the time of the closing of the battle when the Mughals were in a position to pursue the Rajputs.

Similarly, the view of Vir Vinod (I/366), Sarda (op. cit.,p.146). Oza: Raj. Iti.,II/1182) and Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.38) that Sanga was struck senseless by an arrow in his forehead is without any historical foundations.

(211) Nensi II/478. Dungarpur ki Khyat (leaf 28) says that Kumar Jagmal also accompanied the palanquin of the Tana. However, soon afterwards he returned and participated in the battle in which he received 84 wounds (leaf 31). The view of Dr. Gopinath (op. cit., p.38) that the Rana was assisted out of the field on the arms of Bhan Simhavat is incorrect in two ways. Firstly, he has misinterpretated the name 'Pure' into 'Bhan'; and secondly, his couplet refers to the son of Sanga (Sanga tana), i.e., Udai Singh, and obviously speaks of the flight of Udai Singh from the field of Harmada (1557 A.D.).

(212) Vanshavali Bhaskar, p.2050.

(213) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(b); Rajavali (without pagination)

(214) A Kavitta on Ajja (Appendix K). Oza (Raj. Iti.,

II/1182) and Sarda (op. cit.,p.146) say that Rawat Ratan Singh Chundawat of Salumber was first approached by the nobles to hold the royal umbrella and the other accessories of royalty in the absence of the Rana; but the Rawat refused to do so due to the vow of his ancestor Chunda.

(215) A Kavitta on Ajja (Appendix K) commemorated this event. See also Oza, Raj. Iti.,II/1182 and Vir Vinod I/366.

(216) Menasi II/472. The Kavitta on Ajja (Appendix K) exaggerates his exploits in the battlefield.

(217) Memoirs It is believed by many scholars that Silhadi deserted to the Mughals during the battle (Sarda,op. cit.,p.145; Tod, I/356; Rammarayan Duggad, op. cit., p.52; Vir Vinod I/366; Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,p.39). Oza (Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, I/378) and Prof. Rushbrook Williams (op. cit.,p.156) reject this view. Dr. Gopinath has cited two couplets in support of the treachery of the Silhadi (one from Phutkar Gita MS No.717, SBU, leaf 102 , and another from Gita Sangraha). However, he has simply failed to notice that the verses in question refers to the exploits of Rawat Ratansingh and speaks not a word about the treachery of Silhadi. The word 'Bhopat' refers to 'Bhupats' (i.e., rulers) and not the son of Silhadi. Here is no reference to the treachery of Silhadi even in a far fetched way as Dr. Gopinath wants us to believe. Amar Kavya (leaf 31(b)) is also misquoted by him. It refers to the conspiracy by Babar to kill Sanga by poision much later than the Battle of

Kanwah, to which Silhadi was a party. The available material clearly proves that several leaders left the field at this moment and Silhadi was one of them. And again, neither the quotation of Dr. Gopinath nor Amar Kavya speak about their desertion to Babar during this battle. The piece from Phutkar Gita also simply refers to the flight of several rulers from the battlefield. So the material goes simply to prove the stampade in the army of the Rana consequent upon the flight of Sanga from the field; no defection of any person, what to talk of Silhadi!, is and can be proved with its help. Oza (Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, I/378) has rightly observed that Babar's plan to attack Silhadi after the fall of Chanderi (Memoirs II/327) and Ratansingh's aid to Silhadi against Bahadur Shah in 1532 A.D. (Tab. III/361; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/223-24; Mirat-i Sikandari,p.172; Farishta IV/118) militate against this presumption. And one may ask," What did Silhadi get by this treachery?"Without answering this question no one should venture to hold Silhadi guilty of desertion to Babar though it may legitimately be held that he fled away from the battlefield. However, onw should remember that flight and defection are not synonyms, as Dr. Gopinath appears to believe.

(218) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(a).

(219) Memoirs II/306.

(220) Tod, op. cit.,I/357.

(221) Kavi Raja Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 32;

Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaf 30.

(222) Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaf 30.

(223) Memoirs II/308. It was built about March 18, more correctly, after March 17, and not on the day following the battle.

(224) Maasir-ul Umara I/169.

(225) Memoirs II/307.

(226) Akbar Nama I/265. See also Memoirs II/307-8. Lane Poole's statement (~~op. cit.,p.~~ The Emperor Babar, p.181) that "had Babar pressed the pursuit he would have exterminated the Rajput power" is unsupported by any authority.

(227) Memoirs II/307.

(228) Amar Kavya, leaf 39(a).

(229) Ahmad Yadgar(op. cit.,Elliot V/ 37) mentions the capture of camels, horses, elephants, arms and other articles by Hindu Beg from this camp.

(230) Memoirs II/~~308~~ 307-8.

(231) Memoirs II/308.

(232) ibid.,II/305.

(233) Akbar Nama I/266. For Gulbadan (op. cit.,p.100) it was simply a "victory".

(234) Memoirs II/308.

(235) On March 18 or 19, 1527 A.D. Babar left for Biana and reached there on the third day, i.e., on March 20 or 21 (Memoirs II/308). He does not mention the duration of his stay there but says that he reached 6 kos from the fort of Alwar in 6 days (ibid II/309) ~~from where he~~ and entered into the fort on April 3,1527 A.D. (ibid.,II/310). Thus Babar's stay at Biana would

have lasted about a week.

(236) Memoirs II/308-9. The statement of Mirza Muhammad Haider (Tarikh-i Rashidi,p.402) that after the victory of Kanwah Babar "turned towards Chitur, where he won decisive victories over the infidels" is wrong.

(237) Akbar Nama I/266.

(238) Memoirs II/309.

(239) ibid.,II/309-10.

(240),Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/37.

(241) Memoirs II/310.

(242) ibid.,II/310-11.

(243) ibid.,II/311.

(244) cf. The bestowal of Raberi on Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, Itawah on Mahdi Khwaja, Kanauj on Duldai and Dholpur on Sultan Junaeid Birlas in 1526 A.D. when these places were not then conquered by the Mughals (Memoirs II/252-55; The Arabic History of Gujarat, III/941).

(245) Memoirs II/312.

(246) ibid.,II/313.

(247) ibid.,II/313.

(248) ibid.,II/317; Farishta II/59.

(249) Memoirs II/317.

(250) Al Badaoni II/317.

(251) Farishta II/58.

(252) Tab. II/38.

(253) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(a).

(254) Vanshavali 828, leaf 69(b); Vanshavali 872, p.128;

Vanshavali 878, leaf 65(b).

(255) Kishor Das: Raj Prakash, leaves 16(b)-17(a).

(256) Nensi I/46.

(257) Chanda Rao Jetsi Vithu Sujje ra Mahiya: Edited by Tessitori, op. cit., Biblotheca Indica Series, No. 1434, pp.32-33.

(258) Memoirs (II/331) simply claims to have "overthrown my enemy".

(259) Courteilles, Memoirs II/436.

(260) They are called "undisciplined rabble" (ibid II/436).

(261) Tarikh-i Rashidi, pp.476-77.

(262) Memoirs II/292.

(263) cf. The anti-Sanga confederacy of the Rajput princes in cir. 1514-19 A.D.

(264) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/36.

(265) cf. Babar's vows to give up wine, goring beard and his speech before his army to fight the Pagans to the last breathe.

(266) Even Amar Kavya (leaf 29(b)) admits that Sanga stayed for a long time on his way to fight Babar. It cannot be claimed that he was collecting an army during this period because he had already started against Babar when Humayun was far away in the east (Memoirs II/264).

(267) Elphistone: History of India (4th edi.),p.373.

(268) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(b).

(269) ibid, leaf 30(a).

(270) ibid, leaf 30(b).

(271) Muzaffar Shahi, pp.21-22.

(272) Tab. II/38.

(273) Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaf 28.

APPENDIX 'J'

Let us critically examine the claim of Babar that Sanga invited him to attack India.

Babar himself has mentioned this accusation only once in August 1526 A.D. In the words of Babar

"While we were still in Kabul Rana Sanka had sent an envoy to testify to his good wishes and to propose this plan; If the honoured Badshah will come to Delhi from that side, I from this will come to Agra. "But I beat Ibrahim, I took Delhi and Agra, and upto now that Pagan had given no sign so-ever of moving. After a while he went and laid siege of Kandhar, a fort in which Makan's son, Hasan by name..... "[1]

Sheikh Zain improves upon this verson in Fatahnama (dated March 28,1527 A.D.)[2] "..But Rana Sanka the infidel who made first a parade of submission ...."[3]

Abul Fazl further exaggerates it and says

".....Rana Sanga had repeatedly sent representations to Kabul and had made protestations of loyalty!"[4]

Thus the fact of simple assertion of invitation by Babar became full-fledged subsimmions of loyalty at the hands of Sheikh Zain;and the word "submission"(mark the singular) of Sheikh Zain became "protestations of loyalty" (mark the plural) by the pen of Abul Fazl. It is very interesting to note that Gul Badan Begam,Farishta, Al Badaoni, Tabkat-i-Akbari, Muhammad Hadi, Jahangir do not mention this fact of invitation at all - a fact which indirectly but very nearly conclusively proves their

rejection of this stand of Babar, Sheikh Zain and Abul Fazl. Almost all the modern historians have accepted this plea of Babar[5]. Mrs. Beveridge had gone to the length of fixing its time in the missing period of the Memoirs of Babar.[6] Prof. Rushbrook Williams assigns it a latter date and place.[7] Tod does not mention it. It should be emphasised that whosoever accepts the fact of invitation of Babar by Sanga does so as an inference from the accusation of Babar[8], which itself is open to serious doubt. No independent source has been so far been cited to establish it on grounds beyond subpicion.

If one were to examine the context of this plea of Sanga's invitation to Babar three alternatives would stand out before him:

(i) Either Sanga invited Babar or (ii) Babar invited Sanga or (iii) Some unauthorised person like Daulat Khan spoke in the name of Sanga

(i) Did Sanga invite Babar?

The statements of Babar, Sheikh Zain and Abul Fazl are the only supporting authorities for this plea. It is worth nothing that we have no information about the day on which the envoy of Sanga met Babar, the place where the meeting took place, the day when the envoy left for Chittor, the gifts which Sanga sent for Babar and the presents by Babar to Sanga etc., Secondly, why should Sanga invite Babar? He had himself defeated Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi in the battle-fields in 1509 and 1518 A.D. respectively and as Sheikh Zain states even the combination of the rulers of Malwa, Delhi, and Gujarat dared not to oppose

Sanga in the field;[9] so what was Sanga to gain by this invitation? Thirdly, was Sanga not knowing the fate of Jaichand Rathor of Kanauj for his having invited Muhammad Ghori against Prithviraj which ultimately lost the kingdom of Kanauj to the Rathors. And lastly, these who believe in the fact of invitation are also the persons who atribute to Sanga the dream of becoming 'chakravartin' ruler of India; so it is pertinent to ask as to how do they re--concile these two contradictory positions - his dream of chakravartinship with the fact of invitation, unless they further attribute a belief that to Sanga that Babar was supposed by Sanga to quit India after some pludering[10], a position which cannot be supported with the help of the existing facts. And lastly, not only no independent contemporary or near contemporary authority has supported this position but many contemporary and near contemporary historians have not mentioned it in their chronicles. So this plea is not worth acceptance.

(ii) Did Babar invite Sanga?

The upholders of this view hold that it was Babar who approached Sanga and later on turned round and blamed Sanga for inviting the Mughals to attack India and falling out of the pledge. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas,[11] Thakur Shyamkumar Varma[12] and Dr. Gopinath[13] hold that view. However, it should be noted that Mewar Ka Itihas so much relied upon Dr. Gopinath is a contemporary work of Purohit Ramnath Sanadhya and Charan (later on MM and Kaviraja) Shyamaldas belonging to the regin reign of Maharana

Shambhusingh and as such has no independent informational value[14]. Secondly, this MS and Varma do not cite any authority in their support. Thirdly, Kaviraja Shyamaldas, one of the co-authors of Mewar ka Itihas himself dropped this plea in his later monumental work ' Vir Vinod'. And, lastly, no independent contemporary or near contemporary authority has upheld this position. So this plea is also not worth acceptance.

(iii) Did any unauthorised person make this statement on behalf of Sanga?

The harsh policy of Ibrahim Lodi and his financial reforms[15] made several of his nobles his inveterate enemies, who might have got themselves in touch with Sanga and Alauddin Lodi, who was for some time a refugee in the court of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat. Daulat Khan, the son of Tatar Khan[16] and the uncle of Ibrahim, was also one of the discontented and suspected nobles of Delhi, who, on being called to the court, sent his son instead and this person - Dilawar Khan - also fled from the court and joined his father in the Panjab soon after. Knowing full well that war was imminent with Ibrahim, Daulta Khan soon opened negotiations with Babar.[17] It is quite natural to suppose that before 1524 A.D. Daulat Khan had no connections with Babar as Babar himself accuses this person of not letting the Mughal envoy proceed beyond Lahore and also not meeting his personally.[18] The moral wretches like Daulat Khan and Dilawar could have made themselves bold to make false statements about Sanga to expedite the invasion of Hindustan by Babar. They might

have given Babar to believe that Sanga would help him in defeating Ibrahim. However, we have no strong reasons to believe that ~~they made~~ Babar accepted their representations. And again, even if it were accepted that Babar believed in their word, how far was he entitled and justified ~~that~~ Babar ~~believed~~ in reposing confidence in them after the true colours of Daulat Khan and Dilawar were revealed to him in 1524 A.D.[19] And lastly, there is no reason to believe that the Rana was aware of these representations made in proxy for him. If Sanga knew about it, what was he to lose by living up to them because he was to gain Agra ~~a~~for nothing. This would have pushed his borders from Piliakhal to River Jamuna just for a song. This again proves the innocence of the Rana and nothing else.

Thus one does not find any reason for believing in any one these alternatives. So to find out the real reason for this accusation one has to examine the circumstances in which this statement was made by Babar. It would provide a reliable clue about its veracity or the otherwise.

Babar has made this statement about the time when Sanga had conquered Kandhar, Nizam Khan and Muhammad Zeitun had rejected the over-tures of Babar, the eastern Afgans had advanced two or three marches beyond Kanauj towards Agra, the strategic points around Agra - Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior, Kalpi etc., were in the hands of his opponents and the saturation point in anti-Mughal feelings had reached, ~~about which~~ Babar himself says, "I was by no means secure of the fidelity of the country immediately". In all

probability Sultan Mahmud, the son of Sikandar Lodi had joined Sanga by this time.[20] To meet this multifaced danger, Babar first of all ordered Humayun to march eastwards to drive a wedge between the eastern Afgans and the western Afgans (with their recently acquired allies). At the same time by making this statement Babar planned not only to create some chill in the newly-born friendship between the weatern Afgans and the Rajputs but also to prevent the Afgan governors of Biana, Dholpur etc. from making any friendship with the Rana. Babar did not mention deliberately any specific date or place or person relevant to this story to make its vagueness its greatest psycholo--gical strength. The second reference to this fact of invitation occurs in Fatahnama drafted by Shaikh Zain, who goes one step further to add that Sanga had also promised submission to Babar along with the message of invitation, a fact so absurd to the core that it does not deserve a second's serious consideration. Sceptics, who still manage to find reasons to believe in the reliability of Babar's Memoirs should be well advised not to accept each and every word of Babar as gospel truth because Babar did suppress the fact of his disguised visit to India[21] and also did falsify insert the name of Vikramjit amongst the grandees of his empire[22] on the strength of negotiations acknow--ledgedly aborative[23]. Thus this accusation is a piece of pure political propaganda and nothing else.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Memoirs (Beveridge Tr.),II/259.

(2) ibid (Leyden and Erskine Tr.),II/307.

(3) ibid, II/291.

(4) Akbar Nama I/255. It is worth noting that Abul Fazl (I/358) describes the activities of Sanga as "rebe--llion".

(5) Cam.His. IV/16; Lane Poole, op. cit.,pp.174-75; A.C. Banerjee, op. cit.,p.87; Erskine, op. cit.,I/462; Rushbrook Williams, op. cit.,p.127; Vir Vinod I/364; Oza: Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, II/529-30.

(6) Memoirs (Beveridge Tr.), Translator's note,II/426.

(7) Rushbrook Williams, op. cit.,p.127.

(8) cf. Vir Vinod I/364 n.1.

(9) Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine Tr.),II/292.

(10) Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,p.23.

(11) Mewar ka Sanketalip's Itihas, leaf 135 (b)

(12) Thakur Shyam Kumar Varma; Bahar, p.20-21.

(13) Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,pp.20-23.

(14) Vir Vinod I/183. Dr. Gopinath's assertion (op. cit., p.20) that this work rests on "daily bulletin of Rana's life taken down at the end of every day" is not only inaccurate but also a deliberate statement intending to confer sacrosance on a later work.

(15) Tarikh-i Daudi: Elliot IV/475-76.

(16) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit., Elliot V/22.

(17) ibid, Elliot V/23; Farishta IV/597-98; Tab. I/407; Al Badaoni I/435-36.

(18) Memoirs II/98-99; Akbar; Akbar Nama II/238; The Arabic

History of Gujarat, III/937.

(19) See Farishta IV/39-40; Tab. II/3-4.

(20) Nothing is known about the movements of Mahmud Lodi after the Battle of Kanwah. The Arabic History of Gujarat (III/933) says that he advanced against Babar at Agra and on being defeated fled to Gujarat to return again to Agra to be re-defeated into flight to Bengal. No other historian has mentioned these events. Secondly, we know that he had visited Bengal in 1528 A.D. after the Battle of Kanwah and not before it, as this History holds. So on the whole this account does not inspire any reliance on it.

(21) The Arabic History of Gujarat, III/924; De Laet: The History of the Great Mogol, p.125.

(22) Memoirs, II/245.

(23) ibid, II/337-45.

परिशिष्ट (के)

(कवित राजराणा रा अज्जा रा सीकरी मा छत्र
धारण करवारो:)

सादा सिर सागेण साझ चतुरंग सवाजी

अेक लख असवार पैदली गुणतन पाजी

सझ अुत आवर साह राड सीकरी मचावे

सुत पोठे संग्राम पातसाह नवावे

अुण वक्त सलाह कर अुमरा छत्र अज्जा सिर साजियो

मरातब लेर गज चढ गयेह मु कटतल अग्राजियो ।।१।।

.. कवि: अज्ञात

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ, अुदयपुर ।

वक्ता: आशिमा सावल दान जी चारण कवि ।

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST DAYS OF SANGA.

Sanga's Mourning After the Battle of Kanwah:

Sanga returned to Amer from Mewat and stayed there for some time (the exact duration of which is still uncertain) to nurse himself and his wounded soldiers.[1] After his recovery he returned to Chittor[2] along with Mahmud Lodi,[3] requiring Babar to plan seri--ously about attacking Sanga then at Chittor.[4] However, the defeat of Kanwah went deep into Sanga's heart. He refused to enter into the fort,[5] ~~of Chittor.[5] He~~ gave up wearing any coloured turban[6], wore only a white piece of headgear[6], and stopped beating his royal kettle-drum.[7] As no person can enter or attend a Rajput darbar without a turban, possibly, the formal transactions of the Court were attended to by Ratansingh on behalf of his father.[8]

Babar's Attack on Hadauti:

During the mansoon Babar set out for Dholpur on August, 22,1527, A.D., thence to Bari (Aug.25), and went as far as the town of Chambal on the bank of river - Chambal ~~on the bank of river Chambal~~(Aug.26) and returned.[9] Though Babar does not mention any engagement on the bank of river Chambal, Vansha-bhaskar speaks about devastations of the Mughals in the territories of Bundi on the banks of Chambal, which precipitated a battle between the Hadas and the Mughals.[10] The fact of the silence of Babar about

this battle and that of Vansha-bhaskar on its outcome prove that neither side had decisive victory over the other.

TREATY BETWEEN BABAR, BAHADUR SHAH AND MAHMUD KHILJI:

On his return to the capital Babar received embassies from Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Mahmud Khilji of Mandu soliciting the emperor to attack Mewar. Babar communicated to these rulers through envoys that if they attacked Chittor and Bundi, the Mughals would help them. In return the conquered territories were to be divided equally between the three parties.[11] Though no Muslim Muslim historian has corroborated this accounts, Babar's own admission of his plan to attack Chanderi, Raisin, Bhilsa and Sarangpur, and then to march upto Chittor[12] raises some presumption in favour of such an agreement between Agra, Mandu and Champaner.

Cause of the Mughal Attack on Chanderi:

Since the Battle of Panipat, Chanderi was the refuge of the Afgans.[13] After the Battle of Kanwah, the commandant of Chanderi, a deputy of Chakrasen Dhandhariya.[14] made inroads on the Mughal territories. At one time the imperial treasury, on way to the capital, was plundered. Arghun Khan's brother and Ahmad Sultan were sent against Chakrasen but were defeated by the Rajputs near Padahar. To put an end to this trouble, Babar, on learning about this defeat ordered Amir Khalifa to make preparations for a campaign against Chanderi[15].

Babar's March Against Chanderi;

Babar left Agra for Chanderi on Dec., 9, 1527 A.D.

and halted at Jalesar, aix miles off from Agra[16]. An advance party of 6,000 was sent against the fort of Chan--deri under Hindu Beg and Aliwardi Khan Shambu.[17] Babar stayed at Jalesar for 2 days to accoutre and review his troops.[18] The advance party of the Mughals met the Rajputs under the nephew of Chakrasen, who emboldened by their recent success, reached the banks of River Jamuna. In the initial encounter the Mughals were ~~x~~ defeated and put to flight. Babar hastened to their aid but the position was already retrieved by a night attack in which the Rajputs were defeated and their camp looted. Heavy plunder was also obtained.[19] Meanwhile Babar crossed River Kanwar[20] and via Kalpi and Irich reached Bandir on Jan. 11. On Jan. 12, he sent Chin Timur, Sultan with 6-~~of~~ 7,000 men against Chanderi.[21] Baki Ming Begi, Tardi Beg, Ashik Bekawal, Mulla Apak, Munshi Duldai and Sheikh Gurun were also sent with him. While encamped at Kachwah (Jan. 17), Babar sent people to level the road for ~~guns~~ guns and carriages to be carried to Chanderi and reached within six miles of this place on Jan. 20. Babar passed two miles down the river below Chanderi on account of his guns[22], and on Jan. 21 he encamped on the banks of Sahijat Khan's tank.[23]

<u>Siege of Chanderi by Babar</u>:

The siege of Chanderi began on Jan 22,[24]. The death of his nephew had already upset the commandant[25]. Babar rode out and assigned positions to different units of his army.[26] The Rajputs made a sortic but were repulsed with a loss of

6,000 soldiers.[27] Ustad Ali Quli placed his guns on a piece of ground which had no slope, while other members of the army were employed in building covered passages and ladders. Some portion of the army was detached to protect these workers.[28] Meanwhile Sanga was brought out of his mourning by the poetry of Tikam Chanchariya.[29] On hearing about this march of Babar upon Chanderi, Sanga advanced to oppose the Mughals and reached and besieged the foot of Irich.[30] The position of Babar became critical. So he sent Araish Khan, and old friend of Medini Rai, and Sheikh Gurun to the garrison to negotiate and expedite the surrender of the fort of Chanderi in exchange for Shamshabad.[31] The fatal experience of the negotiations on the eve of Kanwah(which Babar used for completing his military preparations) made the Rajputs sceptical about these overtures. Babar himself admits[32] that either due to lack of reliance in the words of Babar or due to their confidence in the strength of the fort,[33] under the influence of two or three influential persons in the fort, the garrison refused to submit.[34] Possibly, the Rana also might have advised them to hold on till he arrived after conquering Irich. So the negotiations broke off. On Jan. 28, Babar marched from Bahjat Khan's tank to deliver an allround attack on the fort, and encamped on the bank of a middle tank, just near the fort. Here he received a letter or two through Khalifah con--taining the news that the army sent to the east had been compelled to evacuate Lucknow and fall back upon Kanauj.

Khalifa was much terrified by this intelligence but Babar decided to finish first the task of conquering Chanderi before anything else was to be done to meet the challenge of the eastern Afgans.[34]

Fall of Chanderi:

Speaking about the final assault on the fort of Chanderi Babar says that the garrison had very strongly defended the citadel but had left a few men - by ones and twos - to protect the outer fort. So it was easily conquered on the night of Jan 28, 1528 A.D. On the morning of Jan. 29, all the soldiers were commanded to prepare for the final assault on the signal of raising of the imperial standard and beating of the imperial kettle-drum. Not wishing to give the signal till the fight had attained some heat, Babar went to while away some time in watching the artillery operations of Ustad Ali Quli Khan. Ustad discharged 3 or 4 shots but failed to make any impression on the stone walls of the fort.[35] The fort of Chanderi had a covered way reaching down to a lake (now called Kirat Sagar)[36] whose walls went down below the foot of the hill, rendering the fort most valnerable at this point for attack. The task of attacking this spot was assigned to the right and left of the centre and to the household troops of Babar. Though outwardly the Mughals attacked the citadel on all the sides, they had concentrated their force chiefly on this spot. The defenders exerted themselves admirably and threw stones and burning articles on the attackers. The Mughals also perserved very hard. Shahem Nur Beg succeeded in mounting on the place where the wall of the outer fort

joined the covenway. The other troops also managed in scaling the walls on two or three points. The defenders retired from the covered way and it was captured. The garrison did not defend the outer fort obstinately and were quickly compelled to evacuate it. The walls were scaled and the attackers landed in the outer fort by a storm. The Rajputs in desperation performed 'Jauhar', killed their female inmates and children[37] and rushed upon the attackers, as reported, stark naked.[38] About 200-300 Rajputs, it is said, killed themselves by a suicide compact in Medini Rai's residence by offering their necks to one person, who, sword in hand, sliced off their necks from their bodies.[39] In this way many died and within a period of about an hour the fort of Chanderi was conquered by a fraction of the Mughal army without requiring the signal of the raising of the imperial standard and beating of the imperial kettle-drum, the signals for an all-out assault by the entire force.[40]

Cause of the Mughal Success at Chanderi: An Analysis

This is Babar's own version of the conquest of Chanderi, which according to Kafi Khan, Babar gained by treachery. Khafi Khan is said to have gone on record saying that the outer fort was surrendered to the Mughals on the condition that the lives of the garrison and inhabitants would be spared; but after the occupation of the outer fort, due to some hostile acts of the garrison, the citadel was also stormed and captured.[41] One may legitimately hold that it is entirely unbelieable that the fort of Chanderi, well

garrisoned and strongly perched on a hill, could be con--quered so easily by the operations of one day by the fraction of the Mughal forces. What appears probable is that the defenders of the outer fort were persuaded to surrender it through promises and/ or bribes. That some treachery was also at work in the citadel cannot be ruled out in the light of the admission of Babar himself that except 2 or 3 persons all inside the fort were for peace with him Babar[42]. The clear instance of some treachery in the garrison is offered by the account of the suicide pact by 200-300 soldiers. No person acquainted with the rite of 'jauhar' can accept it as a part of this practice[43]. Possibly, some party in the citadel, in league with the Mughals, trapped some 200-300 unarmed soldiers in the palace of Medini Rai and killed them.

The then commandant of the fort of Chanderi, a deputy of Chakrasen Dhandherirya[44], was captured alive and trampled under foot of an elephant. Out of the captured members of his (commandant's) family, one of his daughters was gifted to Humayun and another to Kamran by Babar[45]. The fort was found more or less empty[46]. Babar repaired the ruined mosques which were either destroyed or turned into cattlesheds on Medini Rai's orders[47].

Sanga's Siege of Irich :

While Babar was engaged at Chanderi, the Rana was besieging Irich but unfortunately while busy in this siege the Rana, was taken possibly, still weak and convulsing, was taken ill and had some mental derangement. He had hallucinations. He believed he saw the apparitions

of his ancestors, dark black and terrifying, standing before him. He was so mentally up set that he was required to be conveyed to Mewar and the siege of Erich was given up.[48] Possibly, not wanting to have another clash with the Rajputs when their army was fully accoutred, Babar gave up his idea of attacking Raisin, Bhilsa, Sarangpur and finally Chittor, as he had originally planned; and left for Bihar.[49]. Ahmed Shah was left as 'shiqadar' in Chanderi[50] with 2 or 3,000 troopers - both Indian and Turks.[51]

Sanga's March Against Babar and the Death of Sanga.

It appears that Sanga continued to ail for about three months. Though there is no direct evidence of the duration of this illness it can be inferred from Vanshavali 878[52] and Memoirs of Babar. Vanshavali 878[52] says that after one year from the battle of Kanwah Sanga left Chittor to fight Babar at Shanderi. Babar refers to Sanga on Jan. 30, 1528[53] and March, 13, 1528 A.D.[54] Babar's Memoirs have a gap between April 3 and Sept. 17 (both inclusive). So it appears that Sanga moved against Babar after his recovery from this recent illness after April. During the period of his illness, he had made great preparations to break lance once again with Babar.[55] Silhadi and many other chieftains ~~also~~ again accompanied him this time.[56] The Rana moved upto Chan-deri and captured it[57]. There is nothing impossible or improbable in it. 2 - 3,900 troops could hardly match the strength of the well-equipped army of Mewar. Though Babar does not explicitly admit the loss of Chanderi to Sanga, his failure to include it in the description of his empire[58]

is an indirect but conclusive proof of its loss. After this victory Sanga were coloured turban and beat his Kettle-drum[59]. From Chanderi Sanga moved to Kalpi.[60] In all probability Sanga conquered Irich on way to Kalpi from Chanderi. This can be inferred from the siege of Irich by Babar in 934 A.H[61] which ended in Sept. 1528 A.D. That Irich was a Mughal territory is known to us from the fact of Babar's stay " in Iraj" on Jan. 10, 1528 A.D., when the Mughal army was on way to attack Chanderi[62]. So it should have been lost to some enemy somewhere between April 2 and Sept. 1528 A.D. One more engagement, it is said, took place beteeen the Mughals and the Rajputs at Kalpi[63], held by Alam Khan for the Mughals,[64] The Vanshavalis unanimously evidence for Sanga's determination to follow Babar then in the east, at all costs[65]. This suggests that Sanga won at Kalpi. The nobles, probably anticipated that the battle at Kalpi would become a mere overture of a violent clash with Babar, if Sanga were to pursue Babar in Bihar. Hence they were opposed to Sanga's plans of advancing further beyond Kalpi.[65] At this time Babar bribed Silhadi and other nobles,[66] who poisoned Sanga while encamped at Kalpi[67]. Karamchand Pawar and Ratansi, the heir-apparent, were also involved in this plot.[68] Ratansi might have done so to prevent the defacto sovereignty of Mewar from slipping through his fingers. Sanga had given up mourning, observed since his defeat at Kanwah, after his conquest at Chanderi. Ratansi was afraid. And Karamchand Pawar was Ratansi's father-in-law.[69]

So they could be a party to Sanga's poisoning. From Kalpi Sanga was removed to Mandalgadh, where he died and his followered cremated him there.[70] Dhanbai Rathor immolated herself on his pyre.[71]

Chronology of Sanga:

All the Vanshavalis, Amar Kavya and the Muslim historians are silent about the date of the death of Sanga. Maasir-ul-Umara[72] says that Sanga died in 734 A.H. which ended in Sept. 1528 A.D.. From Babar's Memoirs we can infer that his death would have taken place between April and Sept. 1528 A.D.[73]. A copper-plate dated Jaistha Sukla 1, 1597 V.S.(Chaitra-beginning 1598 V.S. i.e. Tuesday, May, 26, 1528 A. D.) mentions the fact of the performance of the annual funeral ceremony of Sanga in connection with which a Brahmin Gaga Waga received some grant of land[74]. Thus we get Jaishtha Sukla 1 as the 'tithi' or the lunar date of the death of Sanga(the death anniversary is always performed on the day of the death calculated on the basis of lunar calender) which occurred in 1528 A.D. So on Jaishtha Sukla, 1, 1585 V.S. (Tuesday, May, 19, 1528 A.D.) Sanga died at Mandalgadh. The tithi of this copper-plate agrees with another copper--plate which refers to the death anniversary of Dhanbai Rathod. This date, Jaishtha Shukla 1, 1585 V.S.(i.e. 1584 V.S. of the old Mewari calender) agrees with Amar Kavya[75] which given 1584 V.S. as the year of the demise of Sanga. Kartika Shukla 5, 1584 V.S. (Oct., 29, 1527 A.D.) cannot be accepted as the date of the death of Sanga as

held by Nensi[76] and Vir Vinod[77]. Similarly, the year 1529 A.D. cannot be accepted as the year of the death of Sanga as held by Tod[78] and some Vanshavalis[79].

Now the rest of the work of the computation of the Chronology of Sanga is easy. Sanga ruled for twenty one years five months and nine days.[80] By deducting 21 years, 5 months and 9 days from Jaishtha Sukla 1, 1585 we get Poshya Krishna 7, 1563 V.S. (Monday, December, 7, 1506 A.D.) We know that at that time Rana Raimal was ruling. So this date refers to the installation of Sanga as regent during the last illness of Raimal, a fact which is borne out by Muhnot Nensi and corroborated by a copper-plate. Vanshavali 872 gives five years four months and six days[81] as the period of the reign of Ratansi, which is impossible because then his death will have to be fixed in 1533 A.D. when, according to Mirati Sikandai, Vikramajit was ruling.[82] So the view of Sishoda Vanshavali[83], which gives four years five months and seven days as the period of the reign of Ratansi appears to be correct. And the period of 10 months and 29 days might be the one when Ratansi was administering Mewar on behalf of Sanga. So Jaishtha Sukla 1, 1585 V.S. minus 10 months and 29 days gives us Asadha Sukla 2,1584 V.S., or Sunday, June, 30,1527 A.D. due to intercallery month as the date of the assumption of adminstration by Ratansingh. Now it can safely be said that Sanga convulsed in bed tentatively between March 16 and June 1, 1527 A.D. due to the injuries of Kanwah. Sanga ruled on behalf of his father Raimal for about two years and a half; ruled

as de facto and de jure Rana of Mewar for about 19 years and some months and ruled as de jure ruler with Ratansingh as his deputy for 10 months and 29 days. In aggregate this period of his rule (including his own de facto rule and that of Ratansingh) lasted for 21 years 5 months and 9 days.

The Effects of the Death of Sanga:

The effects of the death of Sanga were far reaching. It snapped the Rajput-Afgan friendship as the migration of Mahmud Lodi to Bengal[84] suggests. The unity of Rajasthan forged by the personal influence of Sanga was lost[85]. Rawat Baghsingh Surajmalot of Deolia accepted the vassalage of Mandu.[86] Dungarpur and Banswara were plunged into a civil war between Rawal Prithviraj and his brother Rawal Jagmal.[87] ~~Hadi Kar~~ Amer, Nagor and Sambhar fell under the Mughal influence[88]. ~~Hadi Karmeti, the mother of~~ Vikramjit ~~and Udai Singh,~~ entered into intrignes with Babar.[89] The Mughals captured Biana[90]. Surajmal Hada of Bundi, now the ruler of Bundi and the commandant of Rathambhor, entertained pre-tensions to independence.[91] Idar fell under Bahadur Shah.[92] Nothing is known about Rampura, Sirohi and Chanderi. Merta though favourably inclined towards Mewar was caught in a fatricidal war with Maldeo, who was exkr exerting himself to bring the neighbouring areas under his control.[93] Narsinghdeo Chauhan with several other chieftains, (possibly refugees in Mewar) and a large army joined Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.[94] Possibly, Banavir also joined the Sultan.[95] Only Silhadi[96] possibly, remained faithful to Ratansi out of all the

rulers once in allegiance to Sanga. The nobles of Mewar remained unshaken in their fidelity to their motherland[97].

Estimate of Maharana Sanga

Maharana Sanga is one of the greatest sons and sovereigns of Mewar. Trained in the school of adversity he developed a solid mettle for his future greatness through the toils and distresses of his early tribulations. When called upon to steer the ship of Mewar since the last illness of Raimal, i.e., from 1506 A.D. the task before him was exacting and the position acquired by this change and subsequently by accession was not enviable. Yet, Mewar rose to the position of the premier state in northern India by the sheer force of his labour, perseverence and leadership. A born leader of men, Sanga was one of the greatest military geniuses of his time. Specialized in the tactics of falling upon the enemy at three points with the help of left, centre and right, he had an improved and a better strategy to engage and vanquish an enemy than the one line formation attack of the Afgans[98]. His two brilliant successes over the armies of Delhi and one victory over the forces of Gujrat were the classics enacted with the help of this strategy. His dash into Gujarat, attacks on Idar, Ahmednagar and Vadnagar, and return before the Sultan could muster his forces to oppose the Rajput army were a marvel of his day. His crowning glory was his capacity to lead his armies to three battle-fields and fight two successful battles (Ghatoli and Dholpur) within a short interval of 3 - 4

months, in which he engaged Ibrahim peasonally at Ghatoli and Mian Maruf at Dholpur and almost reached upto Ujjain to relieve the garrison of Mandu. This proved his mettle not only as a soldier and a leader but also as an expert deft in the art of swift movements, unusual in endurance and unrivalled in determination. His mobility, bravery and leadership, conspicuously shown in these wars, proved his claim to recognition as the greatest military leader in the pre-Mughal India. Its not a mere flattery of a bard to praise the martial qualities of Sanga. His claim to greatness was written with his sword in the ink of the blood of the enemies of Mewar. A great organizer, Sanga had hardly his peer amongst his contempories except Babar. His great capacities are discernible to us in his huge army of one lak horse and 8,000 elephants. The equipment, training and accoutrement of this huge force might have been itself a Herculean labour. Had destiny granted him a longer span of life, who knows! he might have retrieved the honour lost to the Mughals in the Battle of Kanwah. Under vow not to kill women, children, Brahmans, cows and the fleeing foe, he, by his adherence to the ~~these~~ Hindu ideals of war, mitigated some of the horrors consequent upon the armed clash of two states. His sparing the life of Mahmud Khilji, a violent contrast to Babar's trampling under elephant-foot the commandant of Chanderi, has evoked praise from even the Muslim historians.

Yet Sanga was not without his faults. Nobody can deny that he was responsible for breaking mosques and

enslaving Muslim women and children. But it was a common feature of warfare in his age; and even Akbar in his days of toleration was not immune from this vice. Secondarly, his past victories over the armies of Malwa, Gujarat and Delhi intoxicated him. He believed that the Mughals would also be easily defeated in the same way. And this belief undid him. And again, Sanga took no pains to harness the resources of the eastern Afgans against the Mughals. Its true that these eastern Afgans exploited every opportunity offered to them by Babar's engagement with the Rana. They advanced upto Kanuaj when Babar was locked in the Rajput encirclement at Sikri; yet it was obviously an unilateral action. There was no co-ordination between the moves of the coalition and the eastern Afgans. This isolated them both. Babar contrived to get the maximum benefit from this situation. He defeated them both singly. Had the eastern Afgans and the Rana planned some common scheme and execu-ted it with care, there was every possibility of Babar's being caught between two fires. With all these drawbacks, Sanga was a great soldier, an accomplished military leader, a successful organizer, noted for his leadership, patriotism and swiftness of actions and decisions. He was a great, noble, resourceful and devoted ruler and servant of Mewar. He left Mewar stronger than he found her. This is an ample tribute to services of Sanga the Great.

Family of Sanga:

Sanga had 7 Hada, 6 Rathor, 5 Solanki, 4 Chauhan, 2 Sankhala, 2 Devada, 1 Kerad and 1 Tunwar - in all 28

wives. Their names are as follows:-[99]

1. Hadi(Name(?), d/o Narbad, grand-daughter of Rao Bhanda
2. Hadi Karmeti, d/o Narbad, grand-daughter of Rao Bhanda.
3. Rathor Baraj Bai, d/o Rao Jodha
4. Rathor Balkumar, d/o Rao Bharmal (Mertia?)
5. Hadi Shyamkumar, d/o Maax Parbat Singh
6. Kerad Rajkumar, d/o Rao Ramsingh
7. Hadi Pepkumar, d/o Rudrabhan
8. Devada Padma Kumar, d/o Abhaisingh
9. Rathor Pyarkumar , d/o Banesingh
10. Tumbar Rambha Bai, d/o Chandji
11. Rathor Dhanbai, d/o Rao Baghji, grand-daughter of Rao Suja
12. Solanki Kunmarbai, d/o Raimal
13. Chauhan Dhansukhde, d/o Khdgasen
14. Hadi Sabarbai, d/o Bajrangji
15. Devada Gavarande, d/o Gopji
16. Chauhan Karmeti, d/o Sarvasingh of Bagar
17. Solankhi Sultande, d/o Radmal
18. Solanki Ramkumarbai, d/o Jodhsingh
19. Hadi Rajkumar, d/o Akheraj
20. Sankhala Ramkumarbai, d/o Ranath
21. Solanki Ramkumar, d/o Motaraja
22. Sankhala Bhagatkumar, d/o Akheraj
23. Hadi Kumkukumar, d/o Madhosingh
24. Solanki Padmakumar, d/o Rao Sursen
25. Chauhan Raikumar, d/o Jagmal

26. Chauhan Raikumar, d/o Mansingh
27. Rathor Karmeta (Chavada), d/o Rao Surji
28. Rathor (Idarani) Ladkumar, d/o Rao Bhan.

From these wives the Rana had seven sons:[100]

1. Bhojraj from Sankhala Kumaranbai (d/o Raimal) No. 12[101]
2. Ratansingh from Rathor Dhankumar (d/o Rao Baga) No. 11.
3. Vikramjit from Hadi Karmeti (d/o Narbad),No.2
4. Udaisingh from Hadi Karmeti (d/o Narbad),No. 2
5. Karansingh from (?)
6. Parbat Singh (?) and
7. Kishandas (?)

Besides he had four natural sons[102]

1. Dungarsingh
2. Karansingh
3. Bhangiand
4. Banavir.

Sanga had four daughters[103]

1. Kavara Bai
2. Ganga Bai
3. Padmavati
4. Rajbai.

Padmavati was given in marriage to Rao Ganga of Marwar[104] and out of the remaining three one (name ?) was given in marriage to Rao Bharmal of Idar[105]. Another (name?) to Jai Singh Chauhan of Sanchor[106] and the last one to Bhupat, son of Silhadi Tunwar[107].

Coins and Inscriptions of Sanga.

One inscription of Sanga of 1519 A.D. at Mandsaur[108] and another at the foot of an image of Ganapati built by one oilman Hisa belonging to 1524 A.D.[108] are so far discovered. Four types of copper coins are so far found. On the obverse in a serpentine bracket the word "Sangram" is to be found either as Sangrām or Sangram or Sangam. The word 'Shri'is to be found outside the bracket on its right hand side. On the reverse an attempt at human figure is made through curve lines. The word "Shah" in Persian character can be clearly seen. A heart-shaped sign and a trindent are always present. Their weight is about 126 grains.[109]

Army of Mewar under Sanga.

The strength of the army of Sanga is variously given. Vanshavali 828[110] gives one lakh foot one lakh eight thousand cavalry, 17 thousand elephants and two thousand drummers. Vanshavali, 872[111] gives 1 lakh foot, 1 lakh 90 thousand cavalry, 1 hundred elephants and 200 drummers. Vanshavali 878[112] gives 1 lakh 8 thousand cavalry, 7 thousand elephants and 2 thousand drummers. Suryavamsha[113] agrees with Vanshavali 878. So it might be said that Sanga had 1 lakh foot, 1 lakh 8 thousand caralry, 1 thousand elephants and two thousand drummers, 6 Rawals, 5 Raos, 6 Rawats and 3 Rajas are also reported to be serving under his banner[114]. The figure of 44 Rawals, 35 Raos, 60 Rawats and 64 Rajas as those who served under Sanga, given in Vanshavali 878[115] and

Suryavansha[116] is an exaggeration.

Charities of Sanga:

It is reported that Sanga gave 5 cows and fed 108 Brahmins daily, In all it is reported that he gave x 60 villages, 300 pieces of land, 1 "tula" of gold (i.e., his weight in gold), 11 elephants, 20,000 cows and 40,000 horses[117]. He also paid the ransom of 27 charans to Mahmud Khilji and got them released from captivity.[118]

FOOTNOTES

(1) Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaf 36. However, Vir Vinod (I/367) holds that Sanga stayed at Ranthambhor. No Vanshavali or any other source supports Vir Vinod.

(2) Makhzen Afgani, I/101. See also Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaf 37.

(3) Ferishta II/111; Makhzen Afgani I/101. Abas Khan: Sher Shahi (Susil Gupta edi.),p.59; Al Badaoni I/470. Tab. (II/157) says that he stayed "in the neighbourhood of Chitor" while Al Badaoni (I/470) says that he stayed "in the fortress of Chittor".

(4) Memoirs II/327.

(5) Vanshavali 788 (item 1056) says, "Sanga gave up (living in) Chittor".

(6) Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b).

(7) Rajavali (without pagination).

(8) cf. The arrangement made during the last illness of Rana Raimal (1506 A.D.) by entrusting the administra-tion to Sanga.

(9) Memoirs II/317.

(10) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2057.

(11) ibid.,p.2057. This would have taken place between Aug.26 and Dec.9,1527 A.D. when Babar was staying in Agra (cf. Memoirs II/317-20).

(12) cf. Memoirs II/237.

(13) Vithu Suja: Chanda Rao Jetsi Ro? Tessitori, op. cit., Biblotheca Indica, No.1434, p.29.

(14) Kavitta Rana Vikramadit aur Udai Singh ra (Ch. VIII, Appendix T), verse 1.

(15) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit., Elliot V/38.

(16) Memoirs II/320.

(17) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit., Elliot V/38-9. Aliwardi Khan Shambu was then in Malwa (ibid.,V/38).

(18) Memoirs II/320.

(19) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/39.

(20) Memoirs II/320

(21) ibid.,II/321.

(22) ibid.,II/322.

(23) ibid.,II/323.

(24) ibid.,II/323. Though Babar does not mention it, Al Badaoni (I/469), Farishta (II/106), Tab. (II/151) vouch for the fact that Farid (later on Emperor Sher Shah) was in the Mughal camp during the Mughal attack on Chanderi.

(25) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit.,Elliot V/39.

(26) Memoirs II/323.

(27) Farishta II/60.

(28) Memoirs II/323.

(29) Kanhaiyalal Sahal: Rajasthan ke Sanskritika Upakkhyana, p.108, contains this piece.

(30) Akbar Nama I/268; The Arabic History of Gujarat, III/940.

(31) Memoirs II/323.

(32) ibid.,II/323-24.

(33) Babar (Memoirs II/324) says that the entire garrison consisting of 4-5,000 soldiers. It is decidedly an

underestimate. Farishta (II/60) says that in the initial sortie alone the garrison had lost 7,000 soldiers.

(34) Memoirs II/324.

(35) ibid.,II/324-25.

(36) ibid.,II/ 325 n.1.

(37) ibid.,II/325; Farishta II/60.

(38) Memoirs II/325.

(39) ibid.,II/325-26. Farishta (II/60) says that Medini Rai also perished on that day in the final clash. This is incorrect. Medini Rai was alive upto the first siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah in 1533 A.D. (Mirat-i Sikandari, p.179).

(40) Memoirs II/326; The Arabic History of Gujarat,III/945.

(41) Erskine: Babar and Humayun, I/489.

(42) Memoirs II/323-24.

(43) For a full account of a 'Jauhar' see Ibn Battuta,p.96.

(44) That he was not Chakrasen Dhandhariya is clear from the fact that this Chakrasen was alive at the time of Bahadur Shah's first attack on Chittor in 1533 A.D. (Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 87(a)).

(45) Ahmad Yadgar, op. cit., Elliot V/39.

(46) Farishta II/60.

(47) ibid.,II/60. However, Farishta's claim (II/60) that Babar restored Chanderi, along with Raisin and Ranthambhor , to Sultan Ahmad (s/o Sultan Mahmud and grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin Khilji of Malwa) is wrong.

(48) Akbar Nama I/268; The Arabic History of Gujarat III/940. The claim of these authorities that Sanga

died on the way is incorrect. Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p. 434) also believes that Sanga died during the siege of Irich but strangely enough he quotes Amar Kavya (leaf 30(b)) in his support which says that Sanga was poisioned at Kalpi. And again, he agrees (ibid., p.30) with Oza (Raj. Iti.,II/969) and Thakur Chatmur Singh (Chaturkul Charitra, p.27) about the death of of Sanga on Jan.30,1528 A.D. but quotes Vanshavali 209 in his support, according to which Sanga we should have died after March 1528 A.D., i.e., <u>one year after the Battle of Kanwah</u>. Oza has quoted Chaturkul Charitra in his support and Thakur Chatur Singh has not quoted any authority in support of his suggestion that Sanga died on Jan.30,1528 A.D.

(49) Memoirs II/327.

(50) ibid.,II/327; The Arabic History of Gujarat,III/940.

(51) Memoirs II/327.

(52) Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b); Rajavali (without pagination).

(53) Memoirs II/327.

(54) ibid.,II/331.

(55) Sarvadeshvritanta Sangraha, leaf 218 (Described by Prin. Sri Ram Sharma: Bibliography of Mughal India, p.60).

(56) cf. Amar Kavya, leaf 30(b).

(57) Vanshavali 828, (leaf 60(b), Vanshavali 872 (p.127), Vanshavali 878 (leaf 64(b)) speak about two conquests of Chanderi by Sanga. The Rana had for the first time conquered it in 1518 A.D. from Mahmud. It was lost to the Mughals in 1528 (Jan.). So for the second time

it could be conquered by Sanga between April 1528 A.D. and the month of his death, which took place in the same year.

(58) Memoirs II/244-45.

(59) Rajavali (without pagination).

(60) Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(b); Vanshavali 872,p.127; Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b); Rajavali (without pagination).

(61) The Arabic History of Gujarat,III/945.

(62) Memoirs II/321.

(63) Rajavali (without pagination).

(64) Memoirs II/321.

(65) Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(b); Vanshavali 872,p.127; Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b); Rajavali (without pagination).

(66) Amar Kavya, leaf 39(b).

(67) ibid, leaf 39(b); Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(b); Vanshavali 872,p.127; Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b); Rajavali (without pagination).

(68) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 81(a).

(69) Rain Kumar d/o Karam Chand Pawar was married to Ratan Singh (Badawa Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 2(b)).

(70) Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(b); Vanshavali 872,p.127; Vanshavali 878, leaf 64(b).

(71) cf. The copper-plate dated Vaishtha Shukla 1,1585 V.S. (Chief Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, ~~Office~~ Register Entry no.147/1585) which refers to the grant of some land by Ratansi to Vyas Rudra on the

first death anniversary of Dhanbai Rathor. The Hindu date of this copper-plate falls exactly one year after the death of Sanga, which means that she immolated herself on his pyre.

(72) Maasir-ul Umara, II/762.

(73) While referring to Sanga on March 13, Babar does not report him dead (MemoirsII/331) and on Sept.29,1528 A.D. Ratan Singh was ruling in Mewar(ibid.,II/341). So the death of Sanga would have occurred between April 2 to Sept.2,1528 A.D., i.e., the period covered by a gap in the Memoirs (ibid II/333).

(74) File No.26/3A Jagir Sanad No.95 in Chief Commissioner Office, Udaipur. This copper-plate is certified ~~as~~ correct by the former Udaipur State. For the text of the copper-plate See Appendix L.

(75) Amar Kavya, leaf 30(b).

(76) Mensi I/47.

(77) Vir Vinod I/372,II/3. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Vir Vinod (II/3 n.1) holds that according to some Vanshavalis the coronation of Ratansingh took place in Jaishtha 1585 V.S. (i.e., May 1528 A.D.).

(78) Tod.,op. cit.,I/359.

(79) Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(b); Vanshavali 872,p.129; Vanshavali 878,leaf 66(b); Mewar ka Itihas,item 227; Suryavansha, leaf 49(b); Rajavali (without pagination; Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf2(b); Papers from the collection of Shri Motilalji Shrotri. Vanshavali Sisodiyan ri (item 227) and Mewar ke Ranaun ke Pidhiyaun ki Khyat (leaf 16(b)) give 1590 V.S.,i.e.,

1533 A.D.

(80) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(b); Vanshavali 878, leaf 56(b); Surya Vansha, leaf 47(a); Mewar ka Itihas, item 226; Sisod Vanshavali, item 226. The 27 yrs 5 months and 9 days of Vanshavali 872 (p.128) is a corruption of 21 Yrs 5 months and 9 days.

(81) Vanshavali 872,p.132.

(82) Mirat.,p.179; Nensi I/54.

(83) Sisod Vanshavali, item 227.

(84) Tab. III/444.

(85) The Rajput confederacy was not dissolved after the defeat of Kanwah (cf. Amar Kavya, leaf 30(b) where several rulers,including Silhadi,are referred to have accompanied the Rana in his second expedtion against Babar.So the view of Prof. Rushbrook Williams (An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century,p.156) and Lane Poole (The Emperor Babar,p.182) on this point is wrong.

(86) cf. Oza: Pratapgadh Rajya ka Itihas,p.76 n.2. ~~It is usual for~~ Oza ~~to~~ blames Vikramjit for all the desertions which occurred in the reign of Ratansi.

(87) Nensi I/58.

(88) Vithu Suje: Chanda Rao Jetsi Ra - edi. Tessitori, op. cit., Biblotheca Indica,No.1434, perses 137-40.

(89) Memoirs II/341-45.

(90) A Persian Inscription of Kamran in Biana which bears 934 A.H. (which expired in Sept.1528 A.D.) suggests that Biana was conquered by the Mughals between April 2 to Sept.2,1528 A.D., presumbly after the death of Sanga in May 1528 A.D.

For the text of inscription (English tr.), see Appendix M.

(91) Khuman Raso, leaf 126(b), verses 53-54.

(92) Mirat.,p.165.

(93) Jaimalvanshaprakasha, pp.85-86.

(94) Farishta II/110; Mirat.,p.162; Tab. III/346.

(95) Tab. III/346. He is called "Bahrun", the nephew of Sanga and s/o Prithvira,, who can be none else than Banavir.

(96) cf. The attempt of Ratansi to help Silhadi against Bahadur Shah (Mirat.,p.173).

(97) None of the nobles of Mewar is reported to have deserted to the enemy during this period.

(98) cf. The Battle of Panipat (Memoirs II/185-87).

(99) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaves 2(a)-(b). Vanshavali 828 (leaf 61(a)), Vanshavali 878,(leaves 65(b)-66(a)) and Rajavali (without pagination) give 11 wives and 27 concubines of Sanga. Vanshavali 872 (p.128) gives 17 wives and 27 concubines. Here 17 is corruption of 11. Possibly, the Rana had 11 concubines and not wives. The figures are confused here.

(100) ibid,leaf 2(b). Nensi (I/47) and Vanshavali 878 (leaf 66(a)) mention the first five. Rajavali (without pagination) mentions the first four only.

(101) He had married Mira, the famous Vaishnavite songstress of Krishna (Rajavali (without pagination); Vanshavali 867, leaf 18(b)). See also Vanshavali 788, item 228.

(102) Badava Devidan, op. cit.,leaf 2(b). Vanshavali 878 (leaf 66(a)) refers to the first two only.

(103) Badava Devidan, op, cit.,leaf 2(b).

(104) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 39(a). Her name in her father-in-law's family was Uttamde (Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 815).

(105) Mirat.,p.97.

(106) Nensi I/174.

(107) Farishta (lithographic edi.) II/436-37.

(108) See Appendix I (I & II).

(109) William Wilfrid Webb: The Currencies of Rajputana, p.7 and pl.1 Figs 9 to 12.

(110) Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(b).

(111) Vanshavali 872, pp.123-24.

(112) Vanshavali 878, leaf 47(a).

(113) Surya Vamsha, leaf 47(a).

(114) Vanshavali 828, leaf 59(b); Vanshavali 872,p.124. Vanshavali 872, ~~leaf-59(b)~~ does not mention the number of Rawals.

(115) Vanshavali 878, leaf 62(b).

(116) Surya Vamsha, leaf 47(a).

(117) Vanshavali 828, leaf 60(a); Vanshavali 872,p.128; Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(a); Surya Vamsha,leaf 48(a). Vanshavali 878 gives ~~17~~ 7,000 elephants and Vanshavali 872 gives 2,000 horse. In the former case it is the confusion between "1" and "7"; and in the latter one thescribe seems to have missed one zero.

(118) Vanshavali 872,p.128.

APPENDICES

Appendix 'L'

Copper-plate of Rana Udai Singh referring to grant made on the annual Shradha of Rana Sanga. Size 6" x6".

श्रीरामोजयति ।।

श्रीगणेसप्रसादात श्रीलेकलंगप्रसादात

माला
सही

लाबीन १ .. महाराजाध्यराज महाराणा श्री उदसंघनी
.. २ .. आदेस्यात् ठाकर गागा वाघा गाम उदका आधा
.. ३ .. मसी कीध गाम १ कंवोड मया कोजी सुदवा परा
.. ४ .. दव्यो जे हरंती वसंधरा पसटर वरषा स
.. ५ .. हस्रणि वसटायंगिते क्रम ।। संवत
.. ६ .. १५१७ वरषे जठ सुदि १ राणा श्रीसंग्रा
.. ७ .. म कु दहाड दीज सुद दुज श्रीमषि प्रति दुज
.. ८ .. बाला सा सुजा लिष्तं सा॰ ह सुरा

Misal No. 23/3A Jagir Samvat 95.

Certified correct by the authorities of the former Jodhapur State. Kamlrol was in the former Jodhapur State.

Appendix 'M' :

English Translation of the Biana Inscription of Kamran.

Invoke 'Ali' the object of manifesting wonders; you will find him a protector of you, in all adversities. Every care and anxiety will vanish by virtue of your guardianship, O, Ali.

This raised platform has been built during the region of Hadrat, King of Kings, may God protect his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his order and dignity. Hadrat Zahir Ud- Din Muhammad Bahur, the defender (of the faith); and during the administrative control of the exalted prince Muhammad Kamran Bahadur, by the great and generous Amir, the protector of the kingdom and religion, the helper of Islam and Muselmans ... Muhammad ... God the great - protect him against all calamities and vicissitudes on the ... Nine Hundred and Thirty-four (A.H. 1527- 28 A.D.)

(This translation was supplied by Rawat Chanturbhuj-dasji Chaturvedi, Curator, State Museum, Bharatpur, Rajasthan.)

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CHAPTER VII.

RANA RATANSI S/O RANA SANGA.

(1528 - 1532 A.D.)

The early death of Bhojraj, the eldest son of Sanga and Kuwar Bai Solanki, left Ratansi alias Ratansingh, son of Sanga and Dhanbai Rathor, as the eldest surviving prince to succeed Sanga in 1528 A.D. His date of birth is unknown. Nothing is known about his early life. He was called upon to handle the administration of Mewar after the Battle of Kanwah when Sanga was mourning his defeat through self-inflicted seclusion from public appearance. After the victory at Chanderi (after April, 2, 1528 A.D.) Sanga emerged out with a coloured turban and royal Kettledrum, which threatened Ratansi's position as the administrator of Mewar as the Rana's deputy. So it is no wonder that he and his farhter-in-law, Karam--chand Pawar, colluded with Silhadi and other chieftains in poisoning Sanga at Kalpi. However, while deputising for his father, Ratansi acquired a good knowledge of the political health of Mewar. Possibly, he had his own ideas to cure its ills. His first steps were against his half-brothers Vikramajit and Udai Singh, then living in Ranthambhor and Rao Surajmal Hada of Bundi.

Ratansi and Vikramajit:

Karmeti, daughter of Narbad Hada of Bundi and the most beloved consort of Sanga, had borne two sons - Vikramajit and Udai Singh - to the Rana. During his life time, at her request, Sanga had bestowed the fort and

and fiet of Ranthambhor on her sons and had placed them under the charge of Surajmal Hada, son of Narayan--das of Bundi. Surajmal had hesitated and made his acceptance of this job contingent xhs upon the con--sent of Ratansi, to avoid clashes with the future Rana after Sanga's death. Ratansi,due to the fear of his father Rana Sanga, had also agreed and Surajmal became something like a guardian of Vikramajit and Udai Singh. However, Ratansi nursed a grievance and a grudge against Surajmal Hada.[1] So on his accession, Ratansi refused to accept the present of an elephant and a horse from Surajmal, and demanded the elephant Meghnad (cost Rs. 60,000) and the horse Lal Lashkar (cost Rs. 20,000) which were given in 'tika' to Surajmal by Sanga on the former's accession after the death of his father Narayandas. Ratansi's strange demand enraged Surajmal who point blank refused to accede to it. This estranged the two.[2]

Soon after the death of Sanga, Karmeti left Chittor and went to stay in Ranthambhor. Ratansi sent Puranmal and demanded the presence of his half-brothers in Chittor[3] along with the jewelled crown and belt of the Sultans of Malwa, the trophies of the war of Sanga with Mahmud Khilji (1519 A.D.), then lying in Ranthambhor.[4] Karmeti directed Puranmal to Surajmal, who offered to appear personally before the Rana. Puranmal falsely reported to Ratansi in Chittor that Vikramajit and Udai Singh would have returned to Chittor but for the abstruction of Surajmal. The Rana was

further offended with Surajmal.[5]

Vikramajit and Babar :

The undue haste and rudaness implied in the demand for this personal appearance along with the trophies of Malwa, soon after the death of Sanga, made Vikramajit desperate. He sought the protection of Babar. Ashoka[6], a person "high in Bikramajit's confidence" and " a near relative of Padmavati,[7] (wrongly identified with Karmeti),[8] sent envoys to Babar before the latter had set out for Gwalior,[9] i.e. before September 20, 1528 A.D.[10] They were authorized to negotiate the submission of Vikramajit and the exchange of the fief and fort of Ranthambhor for a subsistence allowance of 70 laks of rupees annually. Babar agreed to confer a jagir worth this sum on Vikramajit on his surrender of the fort of Ranthambhor. They left Babar to meet him again in Gwalior[11], probably after the 26th[12]. They returned a day or two late.[13] During this period Ashokmal himself went to Ranthambhor and explained the situation to Padmavati and Vikramajit. They approved of the proceeding and agreed to the arrangements made by his envoys. These envoys were now authorized to negotiate the surrender of the fief and fort of Ranthambhor along with the trophies of Malwa in exchange for some Jagir in Biana.[13] Babar was now willing to bestow Shamshabad for Ranthambhor[13]. They all left Gwalior on Sept. 29 with an appointment to meet again at Biana on Oct. 8[14]. The fact of the gap in the diary of Babar between Oct 5 to 12 does not prevent us from inferring that this meeting did take place on its appointed time.[15] Babar in his entry of Oct. 19 speaks

about "former" and "later" envoys of Vikramajit[16]. As all the envoys were given leave to depart at Gwalior,[17] the former envoys can only be those who came to Babar on Oct.8 at Biana.[18] They were not given leave to depart and were brought to Agra where they were joined by another batch of envoys from Vikramajit[18]. Both the teams were now dismi--ssed with an added person Hamusi son of Diva from Behrah. He was sent along with them by Babar "in order that the pact and agreement for the surrender of Ranthambhor and for the conditions of Bikramjit's service might be made in their own (Hindu) ways and custom".[19]

It is here that Babar proclaims his determina--tion to put Vikramjit on the throne of Chittor if he fulfilled his part of the duty[20]. Rawal Rana Ki Vat dis--torts these negotiations by colouring them with the myth of sending of "Rakhi" by Karmeti.[21] In the Memoirs there is not only no reference to Karmeti but also no hint about these negotiations being started, handled or in any way managed by even "Padmavati". All through Babar refers to Vikramajit alone. Padmavati is referred to only as a 'near relative' of Ashokmal and nothing more. And even if the identification of Padmavati with Karmeti be accepted still there is no reference in the Memoirs to her part in these negotiations.

Ratansi Reconciles with Vikramajit.

The negotiations of Vikramajit with Babar acted as an eye-opener to Ratansi. Its immediate result took the form of breaking away of the Vikramajit-Babar ties. The handing over of Ranthambhor and the trophies of Malwa to

Babar, as stipulated in the agreement of Oct. 19 did not materialise[22]. It also prevented ~~Vik~~ the submission of Vikramajit and Udaisingh to Babar which would certainly have app offered a pretext for Surajmal Hada to break away openly from the vassalage of Mewar. Vikramajit returned to Chittor and lived amicably with Ratansi till the death of the later in 1532 A.D. Ratansi sent Vikramajit at the head of the 40,000 cavalry to relieve Raisin, besieged by Bahadur Shah ih 1532 A.D.[23] This fact points to the good relations subsisting between the two half brothers during the remaining period of the reign of Ratansi. It also underlines the efforts of Ratansi in reorganizing the army of Mewar which ordinarily comprised of 10,000 hourse during his reign.[24]

Rise of Bahadur Shah

The effect of the political vacuum caused by the death of Sanga and the internal dissensions in Mewar paved the way for the imperialism of Bahadur Shah. When Sanga was locked up with the Mughals Bahadur Shah killed all his brothers and eliminated the clique of Imadulmulk.[25] After Sanga's death on the pretext of helping Imadulmulk, the ruler of Berar, and Adil Shah, the ruler of Khandesh, he marched in November, 1528 A.D.[26], besieged unsuccess--fully the fort of Daulatabad, compelled Nizamulmulk, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, Barid, the ruler of Bidar, Khuda--wand Khan Bantaria and Adil Shah of Bijapur to make good all the losses to Imadulmulk[27] and returned to his capital on May, 8, 1529 A.D.[27] Here Narsinghdeo[28], the nephew of Raja of Gwalior,[29] Banavir[30], the son of Prithviraj[31]

and nephew of Sanga,[32] and some other amirs from Mewar joined him.[32] Some soldiers also fled Mewar to Gujarat.[33]

On Sept.6, 1529 A.D. Bahadur Shah rode out into the Deccan for the second time, again at the request of - Imadulmulk.[34] He plundered Ahmadnagar and Parinda, put to flight the combined forces of the rulers of the Deccan reduced Barid and Nizamulmulk to vassalage[35] and returned to his capital about the beginning of May, 1530 A.D.[36] Thus within one year and a half after the demise of Sanga, Bahadur forged himself into a formidable power.

Ratansi and Partition of Wagar

Rawal Udai Singh of Wagar had divided his kingdom between his two sons - Prithviraj and Jagga or Jagmal.[37] Jagmal accompanied Udai Singh to the Battle of Kanwah where the former was wounded[38] and the latter killed.[39] jagmal remained ill for several months. After nursing his wound with the help of Baba Man Bharti he returned to Wagar where Prithviraj had already taken possession of his share and now not only refused to recognize his brother but also declared him an impster.[40] Jagmal ~~became~~ a rebel and raised much trouble in Wagar from a place, now called after him, Jagmer or Jagner.[41] Jagmal also fought several engagements with thakur of Kubania, in the east of R. Mahi. Soon after the thakur died and Jagmal captured Kubania.[42] Then he went to Chittor and got half of Wagar with the help of Ratansi.[43]

Muhnot Nensi[44] says that upto the ~~rule~~ reign of Rawal Udai Singh the whole of Wagar was under one ruler.

Udai Singh had two sons - Prithviraj and Jagmal. After the death of Udai Singh, Prithviraj succeeded him and Jagmal rebelled against him. Prithviraj sent Rao Parwat and Mera to expel Jagmal from Wagar. They chased him and plundered his baggage from the bullock-carts. Jagmal was compelled to take refuge in inaccessible mountains. Mera and Parwat expected some reward from Prithviraj for this service. But due to the false information, given by a barbar to Prithviraj, the latter suspected that Mera and Parwat did not do their best against Jagmal and that it was on account of their complicity that Jagmal could escape into the mountains. So he refused to see them and accused them of infidelity. Their services were terminated. They went to Jagmal and bound themselves by several oaths to serve his cause. Their relatives also joined Jagmal. A very powerful group was formed. It started depredations into the territories of Wagar. The power of this group grew more and more each day. At last Prithviraj turned towards his ministers for advice. Jagmal refused to end hostilites on any other condition than the partition of Wagar. Pri--thviraj had to consent and the country was divided between the two brothers.[44]

According to the Muslim historians, in 1530 A.D.[45] Bahadur Shah sent an army under Khan Azam and Asa Khan to attack Wagar.[45] Sometime afterwards he hiself joined his army at Morasa[45], for leading the expedition personally. Prithviraj[46], being thoroughly helpless[47], proceeded to Sambal and submitted to Bahadur. His son converted himself to Islam.[48] Jagmal refused to submit and fled into

mountains wherefrom he took the road to Chittor for asylum.[49] From Sambal Bahadur Shah proceeded to Banswada for hunting.[50] Here two emissaries of Ratansi[51] came and presented themselves to Bahadur at Karchi Ghat.[52] They interceded for Jagmal on behalf of their master,[53] after offering some presents from Ratansi to Bahadur[54]. Behadur granted pardon to Jagmal and sent for him.[55] When Jagmal appeared before the Sultan, he, after reserving Karchi for Prithviraj, divided the remaining kingdom between the two brothers[56]. The newly converted son of Prithviraj received Sambhal.[57]

All these three versions are incomplete. The whole story appears to be something like this. Rawal Udai Singh had divided his kingdom between his two sons. Jagmal accompanied his father to the Battle of Kanwah and got seriously wounded there. Believing Jagmal to be dead, Prithviraj usurped his territories, refused to return this land when Jagmal reappeared in Wagar after his recovery and declared him an imposter. Jaggar conquered Kabania after the death of the thakur of this place. Learning about the growing power of Jagmal, Prithviraj sent Mera and Rao Parwat against him but they soon fell under sus--picion. So they were expelled. They joined Jagga. Learning about the internal dissenssions in Wagar Sultan Bahadur Shah sent an army to attack Wagad. Prithviraj possibly, defeated this army. So Bahadur had to come personally. Now Prithviraj submitted but Jagmal fled away first to the mountains and next to Chittor. Ratansi interceded

for Jagmal and Bahadur bestowed half of Bagar on him. Thus the final partition of Bagar took place at the hands of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat through the intercession of Ratansi on behalf of Jagmal. It would have taken place in Dec. 1530 A.D. because soon after this event in Jan, 16,1531 A.D. Bhupat, son of Silhadi, joined Bahadur Shah in Wagad.[58]

Ratansi and Mahmud Khilji : Bahadur Shah's conquest of Malwa:

It is a peculior coincidence that when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was consolidating his position at the expense of his south-eastern neighbours, Mahmud Khilji of Malwa was also trying to consolidate and strengthen his position by curbing the unruly and semi-independent nobles of Malwa. So he took Silhadi and Sikandar Khan to Ujjain for assassinating them. They suspected the foul designs of the Sultan and fled to Chittor[59] Mahmud had also sent Sharzah Khan[59] with a prince royal of Mandu[60] to plunder the territories of Mewar[61]. Some districts of Mewar were laid waste[62]. The Rana immediately informed Sultan Bahadur Shah, then in Wagad[63] and requested him to stop Mahmud[64]. Mahmud himself proceeded to Ujjain[65]. Meanwhile Ratansi had also marched upto Sarangpur, pillaged Sambilah and the country round, and faced the Sultan at Ujjain.[66] Bahadur pretended to be highly incensed at the behaviour of Sultan Mahmud Khilji for making himself so bold to attack Mewar, a power friendly to Gujarat.[67] There was no love lost between Bahadur and Mahmud Khilji because Mahmud had ~~made himself bold~~ to offer asylum to Chand Khan, the

younger brother of Bahadur.[68] It was probably in the beginning of the reign of Ratansi that Chand Khan left Mewar and migrated to Malwa[69]. During these days Radi-ul-Mulk fled Gujarat and waited upon Babar at Agra to per-suade him to attack Gujarat and put Chand Khan on the throne of Champaner. In pursuance of this scheme Radi-ul-Mulk came from Agra to Mandu, conferred with Chand Khan, and returned to Agra after consultations.[70] Bahadur Shah, on learning about these activities, wrote a strong letter to Sultan Mahmud warning him against these actions and asking him not to espouse the cause of Chand Khan. After some time Radi-ul Mulk again visited Mandu from Agra and Bahadur Shah learnt about it. This time he did not protest but 'prepared himself to chastise Mahmud.'[70] About this time Bahadur Shah granted permission to Karam Singh, the Chief Minister of Ratansi to construct a temple at Shatrunjaya Tirth (Palitana)[71]. On Jan. 16, 1531 A.D. Bhupat, the eldest son of Silhadi, and Sikandar Khan came to Bahadur Shah from Ratansi's Court to pay their respects[72], probably, at Karchi[73]. 700 robes of honour woven with gold and 70 horses were presented to them.[74] Hearing about these developments Sultan Mahmud sent Darya Khan[75] & Khurasai Khan[76] to Bahadur Shah suggesting a meeting[77]. Bahadur agreed and moved towards Banswara[78]. On his way to this tryst, Ratansi and Silhadi waited upon the Sultan at the Karchi pass, in Banswara[79]. 30 elephants and 1500 robes of honour were bestowed upon them[80]. After a short time Ratansi returned to Chittor along with Silhadi[81], while Sikandar Khan, the two envoys of Mewar, the rulers of Idar and Wagad remained

with Bahadur Shah and accompanied him.[82]

The failure of Mahmud to meet Bahadur Shah as arranged,[83] gave the latter a pretext to attack Malwa. The circumstances were also favourable to Bahadur Shah. Babar had died on December 25 or 26, 1530 A.D.[84] Humayun was facing the intrigues of his ministers and brothers.[85] Ratansi was Bahadur's ally. So he had nothing to fear from either the Mughals or Mewar. The fort of Mandu was besieged about March, 10, 1531 A.D.[86] Probably, Bhupat, son of Silhadi, the envoys of Ratansi, who had met Bahadur in Banswara, and the Rajas of Idar and Wagad were with the Gujaratis when the siege began.[87] Mandu fell on April, 17, 1531 A.D.[88]

It was expected that Bahadur, like his father Muza-ffar Shah II, would leave Sultan Mahmud as his deputy on Malwa[89]. However, due to some unguarded remark[90] on August, 26, 1531 A.D. Sultan Mahmud was sent as pri-soner to Champaner.[91] Malwa was divided in many districts.[92] Silhadi is said to have been confirmed in his jagir of Raisin and Bhilsa[93]. However, it appears that Silhadi was but nominally a vassal of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah and Silhadi:

Soon after the retirement of Sultan Bahadur Shah to Barhanpur after the mansoons[94], Silhadi conquered Ujjain, a place greatly covetted by Bahadur Shah.[95] So Bahadur Shah charged him of keeping several Muslim ladies in his harem.[96] Malik Amin was ordered to bring him to the Court.[97] Bhupat sought leave to proceed to Ujjain to persuade Silhadi to submit.[97] Malik Amin, on his

return from Ujjain reported to Bahadur that Silhadi not willing to obey the Sultan's order till he was offered the bait of governorship of Cambay and one Crore tankas in cash[98]. Bahadur ~~was~~ now convinced that Silhadi wanted to give up his allegiance and surrender the fort of Raisin to Rana Ratansi[99]; ~~So the Sultan~~ ordered to imprison Silhadi[100] on Dec.27, 1531[101] A.D. The camp of Silhadi was looted and his horses, elephants and other equipments were seized[102]. The army of Silhadi fled and joined Bhupat at Ujjain[103]. Hearing all this, Bhupat fled to Chittor[104] and entered into an affensive and defensive alliance with Ratansi.[105] Bahadur himself marched upon Ujjain[106] and sent Imadulmulk in the persuit of Bhupat[107]. Ujjain was bestowed upon Darya Khan[108] and the Sultan reached Bhilsa via Sarangpur[109]. Sarangpur was bestowed upon Mallu Khan, later on Sultan Qadir Shah of Malwa[110]. At Bhilsa it was learnt that Lakhman Singh, the brother of Silhadi, was strengthening the fort of Raisin to oppose the Sultan and was awaiting help from Chittor[111]. On Jan. 26, 1532 A.D. Bahadur left Bhilsa and reached Raisin on Jan. 27.[112] The garrison made a sortie[113] and Bahadur besieged the fort.[114]

The Siege of Raisin:

Silhadi in fear converted himself to Islam[115] and offered his services to Bahadur Shah to persuade Lakhman Singh to surrender the fort to the Sultan.[116] Silhadi was carried to the fort where during the talk Lakhman Singh informed him about the expected help of 40,000 cavalry from Chittor under Bhupat very soon. So he suggested to Silhadi to get one day's delay in the surrender of the

fort to enable the reinforcements to reach the garrison.[117] Silhadi did as asked and one day was granted to the garrison to prepare for evacuation[118]. Next day when the fort was not handed over to the Gujaratis Silhadi was sent to inquire about the cause of delay. He indirectly warned the besieged against the next day's mining oper--ations and the assult though the breaches[119]. Thus fore--warned the garrison built a wall behind the rampart during the night[120]. Silhadi was arrested and sent to the fort of Mandu in the custody of Ikhtiyar Khan.[121]

Ratansi and Raisin:

A force of 40,000 cavalry[122] and some infantry[123] under Vikramajit[124] was rapidly approaching along with Bhupat to help the garrison[125]. So Bahadur directed Imad--ul-Mulk and Miran Muhammad Khan to Khandesh to proceed in their direction[126]. At Sarisa[127] they learnt that the army under Vikramjit and Bhupat had arrived near Kahrar.[128] When they reached the fort of Kahrar, the advance party of the Rajput army under Puranmal, s/o Silhadi consisting of 2,000 horse fled therefrom without fighting.[129] Imad-ul Mulk wrote to the Sultan from Bersia about the hugeness of the army of Mewar[130] and the flight of Puranmal to the Rana.[131] Leaving the conduct of the siege to Ikhatiyar--ul-mulk, Bahadur joined his army within 24 hours after travelling about 140 miles[132]. The Rana fell back by one day's march[133] and sent two spies as vakils[134] with a message that he had sent Vikramjit to intercede for Silhadi[135] and expressed his desire to send Vikramjit to wait upon him.[136] The spies saw Bahadur Shah and his camp and hastened to

report to the Rana[137]? They declared that the Gujarat army was a better fighting apparatus than Mewar's[138]. Hearing this Bhupat and the Rana fled away precipitately by night[139]. At this time Bahadur received a news that Alaf Khan, who was bringing 36,000 horses and many guns and elephants from Gujarat, was soon to join him in the pursuit of the retreating Rana[140]. The Sultan did not wait and pressed on[141], covering 70 kos in one single day and night[141] and arrived near Chittor[142]. However, the Rana had already reached the fort of Chittor; Bahadur found the gate of Chittor slammed in his face. Bahadur now returned to Raisin to bring its siege to an end[143]. However, the Rajput annalists assert that Ratansi defeated and wounded Bahadur Shah near Mandsaur. The Sultan felt unconscious and was removed to the place of safety by his followers[144]. The truth might be found between these two extremes. It is reasonable to infer that both the parties suffered heavily and parted.

In the first week of May 1532 A.D.[145] Lakhmansingh in despair[146] proposed to surrender the fort of Raisin for the personal safety and pardon for Silhadi[147]. Silhadi was called from Mandu through Barhan-ul-mulk[148]. The reason for this softness of Bahadur lay in his anxiety for the safety of the Muslim ladies in the fort[149]. After the arrival of Silhadi, Lakhmansingh waited upon the Sultan and having obtained guarantees about the safety of Silhadi returned to the fort for arranging its surrender[149], which was now under the Gujarati guards now[150]. Lakhmansingh removed the families of all the nobles except Silhadi; then came a message that Silhadi should come personally to escort his

harem of 400 ladies out of the fort.[151] Silhadi was per-
-mitted to enter into the fort under the escort of Malik
Ali Sher (son of Kiwamulk). There he was greeted with
taunts and jeers[152] of Durgawati, Taj Khan and Lakhman-
-singh[153]. This excited him into anger and sword in hand
he rushed out to fight till death[154] inspite of the admoni-
-tion of Ali Sher[155]. A jauhar was performed. Durgawati
the daughter of Sanga and the wife of Bhupat, immolated
herself[156]. Lakhman, Silhadi and Tajkhan fell upon the
besiegers and sold their lives very dearly[157]. Raisin was
handed over to Sultan Alam, a refugee from the Mughal
Court[158] along with the property of Silhadi and the fiefs
of Bhilsa and Chanderi[159]. The whole of the country between
Hushangabad and Islamabad was divided amongst the
Gujarati nobles[160]. Bahadur Shah then returned to Sarang-
-pur[161]

Soon after the fall of Raisin an expedition under
Muhammad Khan Asiri was sent against the fort of Gagron.[162]
The fort held out under Ram[163] for some time[164]. So Bahadur
Shah himself proceeded from Sarangpur to Gegrun, which,
on his arrival[165], surrendered in May, 1532 A.D.[166] Bahadur
stayed here for four days and sent Vazir Ikhtiyar-ul
Mulk and Imad-ul Mulk to capture Mandsur.[167] Naku,[168] the
commandant of the fort fled away without fighting and
the fort fell in the hands of Gujaratis in May 1532 A.D.[169]
The mansoon being near, Pir, the son of Izaz-ul Mulk was
left in charge of the fort of Mandsaur and Ikhtiyar-ul
Mulk and Imad-ul Mulk returned to Mandu, where they
arrived in the month of June 1532 A.D. and waited upon

Sultan Bahadur[170]. Mhammad Khan Asiri was permitted about this time to leave for Khandesh[170], Ikhtiyar Khan was left as the governor of Mandu[171] and the Sultan himself proceeded to Champaner where he reached on Sept. 17,1532 A.D.[172] Here he learnt about the arrival of Firangis with a big navy. So he left Champaner and by forced marches reached Cambay in 24 hours.[173] On learning about the exit of Bahadur Shah from Mewar Ratansi plunged himself headlong to settle some old personal scores with Rao Surajmal Hada of Bandi. There is no satisfactory explanation available from any quarter to explain this unexpected and suicidal behaviour on the part of the Rana. There are several views about it.

Causes of Friction Between Ratansi and Rao Surajmal Hada:

Raval Rana ki Vat[174] says that because of Surajmal's part in the sending of the bracelet to Humayun by Karnati immediately after the death of Sanga the Rana meditated the murder of Surajmal. It is incorrect. Surajmal is not referred to even indirectly in the Memoirs anywhere as in connection with the negotiations of Vikramajit. Secondaly, the Rakhi episode itself is unreliable because it gives a distorted version of Vikramajit- Babar negotiations. And lastly, it is difficult to explain the silence of Ratansi between 1528-32 A.D., a period over 4 years, if this view were accepted.

Vanshavali 828[175] says that Ratansi had married by proxy a daughter of Raja Prithviraj Kachwaha of Ambar, who later on gave the same bride in marriage to Rao Surajmal Hada, who in ignorance of her first marriage espoused her.

This offended Ratansi. However, Vanshavali 872[176] and Vanshavali 878[177] hold that an offer to marry his dau-ghter to Rana Ratansi was made by Raja Prithviraj Kachhawaha. The Rana sent his sword as his proxy for marrying the girl. Incensed, Prithviraj returned the sword and gave the girl in marriage to Surajmal. Rana Ratansi felt offended and decided to put an end to the life of his competitor. All these accounts are incorrect. Surajmal did not marry any fiancee of Ratansi. Ratansi had Raj Kumar (d/o Prithviraj Kachhawaha) for his wife.[178] The Vansha-bhaskar says that Ratansi and Surajmal Hada were both married to the different daughters of Sarangadas of Srinagar. Once Ratansi and Surajmal happened to go to their father-in-law. Ratansi suspected illicit relations between his wife and Surajmal on the occasion of a tiger-hunt[179] arranged by their mother-in-law.

As regards the circumstances leading to the open repture between Ratansi and Surajmal, the Vansha-bhaskar blames Puranmal Purbia, the prime-minister of Mewar. Rao Narayandas, the father of Surajmal, had killed Dikku, the father of Puranmal, on account of his frivolously putting a straw piece in the beard of the Rao while he was dozing under the influence of opium. So an inveterate enmity existed between these two families. It was at the instance of Puranmal that the Rana sent very meagre gifts at the time of the accession of Surajmal, which the latter had reluntantly accepted at the instance of his mother. To avenge the death of his father, Puranmal Purbia planned the assassination of Puranmal, the brother of

Surajmal Hada[180], at Hindoli[181]. The attempt failed and the hired assassins were pursued. They found shelter in the fort of Shaprapur, a fort within the territories on Mewar near the borders of Bundi. Surajmal, on learning about this, pursued them, and on demanded their surrender from the commandant of that fort. It was refused and the assassins proceeded to Chittor[181]. Surajmal performed the Tikador ceremony on that very fort. Puranmal Purbia poisoned the ears of the Rana about this attack. A sharp letter from the Rana to Surajmal was despatched. The mother of the Rao happened to receive it. Surajmal could not know anything about it. So the letter remained unreplied. This added fur--ther fuel to the anger of the Rana whose anger now refused to be propitiated by anything less than the blood of the adversary.[182]

Muhnot Nensi says that to end the quarrel Surajmal gifted away the elephant Meghnad and the horse Lallashkar, which were demanded by Ratansi, to one bard Bhan Misana by name, who later on met Ratansi in Mewar. Bhan praised Surajmal highly in the presence of the Rana and ended his eulogy with a prophesy of sure defeat for the enemy of the Rao.[183] On being asked the bard further related the story of the gift of the disputed horse and elephant. The Rana was infuriated . He expelled the bard from Mewar and asked him to go to Bundi.[184]

The real cause of the enmity between Ratansi and Surajmal, as revealed by Dalpat Vijay, possibly, lay in the presumption of the latter in arrogating to himself some airs of independence.[185] And, as suspected by

Nensi,[186] there were no love lost between the two since the appointment of Surajmal as the commandant of the fort of Ranthambhor by Sanga, ~~during the minority of~~ deputizing for Vikramajjit and Udai Singh. So not the marriage of Suraj-mal Hada with the fiancee of Ratansi nor his help to Karmeti in negotiating with Babar but the independent atti-tude of Surajmal and the question of returning of horse Lal-lashkar and elephand Meghnad embittered their relations. The mechanism of Puranmal Purbia and the gift of the dis-puted animals to bard Bhan by Puranmal carried the fri-ction beyond the scope of any compromise. Ratansi made for Bundi soon after his meeting with Bhan, accompanied by Renakumar d/o Parmar Karamchand.[187]

Death of Ratansi

When the Rana reached the borders of Bundi he sent heralds to Surajmal announcing his approach and summoned him. Surajmal, who knew the mind of the Rana since long, hesitated but his suspicion was disarmed by the mother Khetu. Surajmal presented himself before the Rana. Both met at Gokarna Tirth on the borders of Mewar and Bundi. The meeting was affectionate. The Rana called Surajmal ' Suraj Bhai' and showed him his newly purchased elephant. Surajmal rode before the Rana on a horse and Ratansi was on the elephant. At one place the elephant attacked the Hada prince but the latter avoided it. But the Rana placated Surajmal by sweet words and both returned to their camps. Two days after the Rana proposed a boar hunt. The Rana told his wife about the expected hunt of a feroc-ious lone boar. Next day the Rani entreated Ratansi to

give up the mad intention of attacking Surajmal and told him that it ~~may~~ might not be an easy job. However, the Rana did not listen. Next day while hunting ~~it~~ in the jungle, all the followers being left behind, only Puranmal, Ratansi, Surajmal and a barber were left under a tree.[188] Puranmal, commissioned to attack the Hada, failed to strike, so the Rana struck Surajmal from behind.[189] This sliced away a part of head of the Rao. The attack was unexpected and fatal.[190] In order to finish off the victim Puranmal also struck and cut Surajmal's thigh. Surajmal collected his wits and returned the attack. Puranmal fell down shouting for help. The Rana advanced near Surajmal and delivered another blow. Surajmal left Puranmal and with dagger in hand jumped and struck the Rana, then bent for striking the Rao. The dagger, fixed near the base of his neck, reached through his abdomen down upto the naval. The Rana bled profusely and asked for water . Surajmal refused to oblige him and the Rana died in extreme agony of pain and thirst.[191] Surajmal also died instantaneously.[192]

The Rana and the Rao both died at Kinvajane.[193] It is wrongly reported that Sura Solanki, Mala Solanki and Ashokamal Pawar ~~and Puranmal Purbia~~ also met their deaths at the hands of Surajmal, along with the Rana.[193a] The news of the death of the Rao and the Rana was carried to Bundi. This excited the Hada to revenge blood of Surajmal; they fell upon the retinue of Ratansi and put them all to flight.[194] Ratansi was cremated near Bundi[195]

<u>The Date of the Death of Ratansi</u>:

The task of determination of the date of the death

of Ratansi is rendered very complicated by the lumping by the annalists of the period of his administration during the life-time of Sanga with the period of his actual reign after the death of Sanga. Ratansi's de facto rule started 10 months and 29 days before the death of Sanga. Sanga died on May, 19, 1528 A.D. during its continuation at Basuwa. So it is not unnatural to expect some auth--orities to lump this period with that of his reigh. However, others excluded it also.

The maximum duration of the reign of Ratansi is to be found in Vanshavali 872 as 5 years 4 months and 6 days[196]. Amar-kavya gives the minimum: 3 years.[197] If the view of Vanshavali 872 is accepted, Ratansi's death will be supposed to have taken place in Nov. 1533 A.D. However, we know from the Muslim chroniclers that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had made treaty with Vikramjit, the bro--ther and successor of Ratansi (March, 23, 1533 A.D.[198]). So Ratansi must have died earlier. Similarly, the three years reign attributed to Ratansi by Amar Kavya cannot be accepted. In this case Ratansi will be regarded to have died in 1531 A.D. and his successor, whose maximum period of reign does not extend beyond 2 years, 9 months and 8 days would be regarded to have died in 1533-4 A.D.. As such the Second Saka of Chittor (March, 8, 1535 A.D.[199]) would be presumed to have occurred in the reign of Banvir, which is not true.

Then what is the actual period of the reign of Ratansi? Out of the remaining figures about the duration of the reign of Ratansi except Vanshavali 828[200] which gives

4 years, 4 months and 5 days the remaining ones give either 4 years, 5 months and 7 days[201], or 4 years 5 months and 1 day[202] or 4 years, 5 months and 0 day[203] or its variant 4 years, 0 month and 5 days[204]. As the majority of these Vanshavalis are giving the variants of 4 years 5 months and 7 days (7, 1, 0[205] are convertibles) we can accept 4 years 5 months and 7 days as the correct figures which got modified later into 5 years 5 months and one day, and 4 years, 5 months and 0 day, due to scribe's mistakes. By adding 4 years, 5 months and 7 days to Jaishta Sukla 1, 1585 V.S.(May, 19,1528 A.D.) we get Kartika Sukla 8, 1589 V.S.(= Tuesday, November 5, 1532 A.D.) as the date of the assassination of Rana Ratansi at Kivajana in Bundi.Ratansi assumed the admini-stration of Mewar on Saturday, June, 1,1527 A. D.(or due to intercallory month on Sunday, June 30,1527 A.D.), ascended the throne on May, 19, 1528 A.D., and died on Tuesday, November, 5, 1532 A.D.

Character and Estimate of Ratansi

Ratansi was an energetic, aggressive and hard-boied but proud, emotional and an impatient youngman. He was astute and compromising sometimes when he saw the situation going out of his control. But vindictiveness and callousness governed him about the end of his life. In his sentimental flights he refused to close the gates of Chittor and bosted that Malwa, Mandovar, Gujarat, Patan, Marwar and Delhi were the gates of Chittor[206]. Though he succeeded in persuading Bahadur to give half of

Wagad of Rawal Jagmal, his armed intervention on behalf of Silhadi proved a bitter experience. The army of Mewar was chased upto the gates of Chittor and his successor had to pay the penalty for his rashness. He, similarly, failed to arrest the fissiparous tendencies in Rajputana. But here he was not to be blamed. It was an out-come of the political structure of Rajputana in those days. The manner in which Ratansi attempted on the life of Surajmal brought about his own death and plunged Mewar inton - anarchy. In short, Ratansi though ~~brave and capable~~ unscrupulous and passion-blind, was brave and capable; and, as Khuman Raso says, Mewar was respected among the crown-heads of Rajputana during his reign.[207]

Ratansi's family:

Ratansi had several wives and five concubines[208]. The names of only four wives have come down to us. They are:-[209]

(a) Rena Kumar Pawar, d/o Karamchand Pawar of Sri--nagar

(b) Ratan Kumar, d/o Ram Singh Sankhala

(c) Kunwar Bai, d/o Rao Narayandas Hada of Bundi

(d) Ray Kumar, d/o Raja Prithviraj Kachwaha of Ambar.

Out of these four, the first went along with Ratansi when he went on that fetal hunting expedition to Bundi; and she immolated herself on his pyre.[210] The third was in Bundi at the time of his death because she immolated herself in Bundi.[211] We do not know anything about the ~~death or knowing about the~~ ~~deaths of Ra~~

whereabouts of the second though she also burnt herself to death on hearing about the demise of Ratansi.[211] The fourth did not embrace death as her name has not mentioned in the list of the Satis.[211] None of these wives bore any issue to him.

Coins and Inscriptions of Ratansi

No coin of Ratansi has been so far discovered. Only one inscription of his reign has come down to us from Palitana (Gujarat). It refers to the seventh repairs of the Shatrunjaya Tirtha Temple by his chief minister Karam Singh.[212]

Army of Mewar Under Ratansi:

The Vanshavalis give such a conflicting report about the army of Mewar that it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion about it.[213] Still it might be said that 40,000 cavalry,[214] about 17,000 infantry,[215] about 300 elephants[216] and 300 drummers[217] comprised the army of Mewar under Ratansi.

Charities of Ratani

Ratansi gave 5 cows and 5 tolas gold, besides feeding 50 Brahmins, daily. This total charity is esti-mated at 5 villages, 3 elephants, 300 horses and 11,000 cows.[218]

FOOTNOTES

(1) Nensi I/46-8,108-9. Dr. Gopinath (Mewar and the Mughal Emperors,p.47) calls this the "tutelege" of the princes to Surjan, which is incorrect.

(2) ibid.,I/50.

(3) ibid.,I/109-10.

(4) Memoirs II/341.

(5) Nensi I/110.

(6) This "Ashuk" does not appear to be Rao Ashokamal of Mandaur Inscription (See Appendix I (II)).

(7) She was the daughter of Sanga, given in marriage to Rao Ganga of Marwar. After Ganga's death she was dissuaded from immolating herself and later on she perished in II Saka of Chittor in 1535 A.D. (Rathoran ri Vanshavali ri Khyat, leaf 39(a)).

(8) Vir Vinod II/7; Oza: Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, I/389; Munshi Devi Prashad: Maharana Ratansinghji, p.44; Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,p.47.

(9) Memoirs II/341.

(10) cf. ibid.,II/334.

(11) ibid.,II/341. Munshi Deviprashad (op. cit.,p.63) wrongly holds that these negotiations were conducted by Rana Ratansi.

(12) Babar reached Gwalior on Sept.26 (ibid.,II/336).

(13) ibid.,II/341. The demand for Biana in exchange for Ranthambhor is an additional proof of the fact that it was captured by the Mughals before Sept.1528 A.D. (cf. Appendix M).

(14) ibid.,II/341-42.

(15) Memoirs (Beveridge Tr.), Translator's note, II/615 n.2.

(16) ibid (Beveriege Tr.),II/617. Leyden and Erskine (II/345) have translated these words as "first" and "last".

(17) cf. ibid (Leyden and Erskine Tr.),II/342 and Beveridge Tr. II/615 n.2.

(18) ibid (Beveridge Tr.),II/615 n.2.

(19) ibid.,II/616.

(20) ibid.,II/620.

(21) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaves 80(b)-81(a). It begins by saying that Padam Shah Bhat went to Delhi on the pretext of carrying "Rakhi" to Humayun and ends by saying that Padma Shah actually tied the "Rakhi" to Humayun's wrist. It further adds that Humayun granted Ranthambhor to Karmeti and that all this happened in 1523 A.D. (1580 V.S.) when Sanga died and Humayun was ruling. Karmeti, according to this authority, was then bearing Udai Singh in the sixth month of pregnancy. For the text of this piece See Appendix N. Vir Vinod (II/5-7) follows it.

(22) The fort was Ranthambhor was lost by the Sisodias to Bahadur Shah in 1535 A.D. (Mirat-i Sikandari,p.180).

(23) Mirat.,p.172-73; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224.

(24) cf. Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a).

(25) Tab. III/333-40; Farishta IV/103-7; Mirat.,pp.151-57; The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/140,142.

(26) Mirat.,pp.160-1; Tab. III/135,344-45; Farishta IV/109; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/151.

(27) Mirat.,pp.161-62; Farishta IV/110-11; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/151-52.

(28) Mirat.,p.162.

(29) ibid.,p.162; Tab. III/346; Farishta IV/110.

(30) Tab. (III/346) calls him Bahrun, Farishta (IV/110) and Mirat.(p.162), Prithviraj. However, his identity is undisputed from the other clues given in Tab. and Farishta.

(31) Tab. III/346.

(32) ibid.,III/346; Farishta IV/110.

(33) Mirat.,p.162.

(34) ibid.,p.162; Tab. III/346.

(35) Mirat.,p.163.

(36) ibid.,pp.163-64.

(37) See Ch.IV n.65 above.

(38) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 31.

(39) Memoirs II/306.

(40) Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaves 35-37. Man Bharti was returning from Ujjain with his wounded followers after a clash with Vairagis on the banks of Kshipra (leaves 32-33).

(41) Oza: Banswada Rajya ka Itihas, p.14.

(42) Nensi I/58 n.1.

(43) ibid,I/58 n.1. Dungarpur ki Khyat (leaves 37-9) says that it was Rana Sanga who divided Wagad between Prithviraj and Jagmal.

(44) ibid, I/58.

(45) Mirat.,p.164; Tab. III/347-48; Farishta IV/112.

(46) Mirat. (p.164) calls him Prithviraj while Tab. (III/348) and Farishta (IV/112) call him Paras Ram.

(47) Tab. III/348.

(48) ibid.,III/348; Mirat.,p.164; Farishta IV/112.

(49) Tab. III/348; Farishta IV/112. Jagmal's wife was sister of the wife of Sanga (Dungarpur ki Khyat,p. leaf 36).

(50) Tab. III/349; Farishta IV/113; Mirat.,p.164.

(51) Their names were Dungarsi and Jajarsi (Mirat.,p.164). Farishta (IV/112) mentions only one messanger. Dungar-Singh was the natural son of Sanga (Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a), Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 2(a)).

(52) Mirat.,p.164.

(53) ibid.,p.164; Tab. III/349; Farishta IV/112.

(54) Mirat.,p.164. Mirat. calls this present a "tribute".

(55) Tab. III/349.

(56) ibid.,III/349; Farishta IV/112; Mirat.,p.165.

(57) Mirat.,p.164-65.

(58) ibid.,p.165; Tab. III/350.

(59) Tab. III/350; Mirat.,p.165; Farishta IV/113,266. Farishta calls Sikandar Khan as Moyin Khan s/o Sikandar Khan.

(60) Mirat.,p.165.

(61) ibid.,p.165; Tab. III/350; Farishta IV/266.

(62) Farishta IV/266; Mirat.,p.165.

(63) Tab. III/349-50; Mirat.,p.165.

(64) Tab. III/350.

(65) Mirat.,p.165; Tab. III/350. On p.610 Tab. says that Mahmud had marched from Ujjain to Satangpur to oppose Ratansi.

(66) Mirat.,p.165. Bailey (p.349) does not mention it. Tab. (III/359), in stead of Sambal, gives Silpa and adds one more town of Balwad.

(67) Farishta IV/113.

(68) ibid.,IV/114; Tab. III/352,619; Mirat.,p.166.

(69) Chand Khan was left by Bahadur in Chittor in 1526 A.D. (Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/120).He might have left Chittor after the death of Sanga (See Mirat., p.150).

(70) Tab.III/610; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/195.

(71) Epi. Indica, II/42-47.

(72) Tab. III/350; Mirat.,p.165. Farishta (IV/113) says that Silhadi fled to Chittor and his son Bhupat joined Bahadur Shah.

(73) cf. Tab. III/349.

(74) ibid.,III/350.

(75) ibid.,III/350; Farishta IV/113; Mirat.,p.165.

(76) Only Mirat. (p.165) mentions this name.

(77) ibid.,p.165. Tab. III/350; Farishta IV/113.

(78) Tab. III/351; Farishta IV/113; Mirat.,p.165. Tab. further adds that Bahadur Shah promised not to give refuge to the fugitives ~~fom~~ from the court of Mandu if the Sultan came to meet as stipulated.

(79) Tab. III/351; Farishta IV/114; Mirat.,p.165.

(80) Tab. III/351. Mirat. (p.165) holds that these were bestowed at the time of the meeting while, according to Farishta,(IV/114) at the time of parting.

(81) Farishta IV/114. Tab. (III/351) holds that Silhadi "elected to enter Sultan's ~~x~~services". However, Mirat

(p.165) says that Silhadi "went in the retinue of of the Sultan".

(82) Mirat.,p.165.

(83) ibid.,p.166; Tab.III/351-52; Farishta IV/114.

(84) Farishta (II/64) gives Dec.25 and Gulbadan Begam (Humayun Nama,p.109) gives Dec.26,1530 A.D.

(85) Tab.II/42-44.

(86) Mirat.,p.166.

(87) cf. ibid.,p.165.

(88),ibid.,p.167. Tab.(III/353) and Farishta (IV/115) say that it was March 29,1531 A.D.

(89) Tab. III/354,613. Mirat. (p.167) says that Mahmud "begged for favour and forgiveness".

(90) Tab. III/354,613.

(91) He and his sons were given to Iqbal Khan and Asaf Khan for being carried to Gujarat, according to Mirat.(p.167)

(92) Farishta IV/115.

(93) Mirat.,p.168. Farishta (IV/270) puts Sarangpur and Ujjain along with Raisin and says that because Silhadi was first to submit to Bahadur, he was entrusted with the administration of these districts.

(94) When Bahadur Shah left for Burhanpur from Mandu, Bhupat was also along with him (Tab.III/~~614~~ 355,615). The intentions of Bahadur Shah were to strengthen his forces for the contest with Humayun (Farishta IV/116)

(95) Farishta IV/117.

(96) Tab.III/355; Farishta IV/117. Humayun was at this time busy with the eastern Afgans (Farishta (II/46-6; Al Badaoni I/452). So Bahadur wanted to

his strengthen his own position in Malwa before the Mughals were free from their eastern engagement. Hence, he returned to Mandu and sent Maqbal Khan to Champaner to guard the fort and despatch Ikhtiyar Khan with artillery, troops and treasure. Ikhtiyar Khan joined Bahadur Shah at Dhar on Dec.1,1531 A.D. To dupe Silhadi, Bahadur annuonced falsely his intention of returning to Gujarat (Tab.III/355) and encamped at Nalcha (Ibid.,III/356).

(97) It was at Malcha that the true nature of things became clear to Bhupat (Tab.III/356; Mirat.,p.170). Bahadur moved from Malcha to Sadulpur via Dipalpur and Banharia. This made Silhadi submit believing that Bahadur was returning to Gujarat (Mirat.,p.170). But Farishta (IV/117) says that Silhadi fled to Raisin. Mirat.(p.170) says that Silhadi left his son Bhupat at Ujjain when he came to Bahadur.

(98) Tab. III/356; Farishta IV/117; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/223.

(99) Tab.III/357.

(100) ibid.,III/357; Mirat.,p.171; Farishta IV/118.

(101) Mirat.,p.171.

(102) Tab. III/357.

(103) ibid .,III/357; Farishta IV/117.

(104) Farishta IV/118; Tab.III/357.

(105) Farishta IV/118.

(106) Tab.III/616; Mirat.,p.171.

(107) Tab.III/357; Mirat.,p.171; Farishta IV/118.

(108) Tab.III/357-56,616.

(109) Mirat.,p.171.

(110) Tab.III/358.

(111) ibid.,III/358-59; Mirat.,p.171.

(112) Mirat.,p.171. Tab.(III/359) gives Dec.17 for Bahadur Shah's reaching at Raisin, which is incorrect.

(113) Tab.III/359; Farishta IV/118; Mirat.p,171.

(114) Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/360,616; Farishta IV/119; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/223.

(115) Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/360; Farishta IV/118; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224. The view of The Cam. Hist.(III/328) that Silhadi "feigned to accept Islam", though entertaining,is unsupported by any reliable evidence.

(116) Tab.III/360.

(117) ibid.,III/360-1; Farishta IV/119. Mirat.(p.172) says that Lakhmansingh was called from the fort to the camp of the Sultan and there both the brothers met and discussed.

(118) Farishta IV/120; Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/361.

(119) Tab.III/361; Farishta IV/120; Mirat.,p.172.

(120) Farishta IV/120.

(121) ibid.,IV/120; Tab.III/361-62. Farishta gives the name of Ikhtiyar Khan instead of Burhanulmulk.

(122) Tab.III/361; Farishta IV/119; Mirat.,p.172.

(123) Mirat.,p.172.

(124) ibid.,p.172; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224. Because of Vikramjit being the successor of Ratansi he is called the son of the Ratansi. See Appendix O.

(125) Mirat.,p.173; Tab.III/362. Farishta (IV/121) does not mention the Rana or his son.

(126) Mirat.,p.173; Tab.III/362; Farishta IV/121.

(127) Tab.III/362.

(128) ibid.,III/362; Mirat.,p.173. Mirat. calls it Kharad.

(129) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173; Farishta IV/121. Some Purbia Rajputs were taken prisoners (Tab.III/363).

(130) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173.

(131) Tab.III/363.

(132) Mirat.,p.173; Tab(III/363) says that Bahadur reached in the neighbourhood of Kharad and the army was following him.

(133) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173.

(134) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173. Mirat. does not mention their number.

(135) Mirat.,p.173. Tab. (III/363-64) says that the Rana sent a message to Bahadur through these agents that he had come personally to intercede for Silhadi.

(136) Mirat.,p.173.

(137) ibid.,p.173; Tab.III/364.

(138) Mirat.,p.173.

(139) ibid.,p.173; Tab. III/364.

(140) Tab.III/364; Mirat.,p.173-74. Farishta (IV/121) ~~does not say the~~ ~~does not say that the Sultan reached Chittor.~~ says that it consisted of 30,000 horse.

(141) Tab.III/364; Mirat.,p.174.

(142) Mirat.,p.174. Farishta (IV/121) does not say that the Sultan reached Chittor.

(143) ibid.,p.174; Tab.III/365; Farishta IV/121.

(144) Vanshavali 872,p.130; Vanshavali 878, leaf 67(a).

(145) Tab.III/365. Mirat.(p.174) speaks about the ~~calling~~ month only. ~~of Silhadi and no other condition.~~

(146) ibid,III/365; Mirat.,p.174. His despair was partly

born out of the bombardment of Rami Khan's artillery (The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224).

(147) Tab.III/365. Mirat.(p.174) speaks about the calling of Silhadi and no other condition.

(148) ibid.,III/365. Mirat.(p.174) does not mention the name of Burhanulmulk.

(149) ibid.,III/365; Mirat.,p.174.

(150) Tab.III/365.

(151) ibid.,III/365-66; Farishta IV/122. Mirat.(p.174) speaks about 7-8,000 ladies in the seraglio of Silhadi.

(152) The people enquired as to what Silhadi received in exchange for the fort of Raisin and Silhadi told that for the time being Baroda was fixed as their residence and in future he expected something better (Tab.III/366). Mirat.(p.174) says that the district of Baroda was bestowed upon him.

(153) Tab.III/366. Mirat.(p.174) says that it were the followers of Silhadi who asked Silhadi questions and jeered at him. Tab.(III/366) says that the advice to perform Jauhar came from Durgavati. Farishta (IV/122) says that Durgavati repraoched both Silhadi and Lakhmansingh for their failure in defending the fort of Raisin.

(154) Tab.III/366; Mirat.,p.174. See also The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/225.

(155) Mirat.,p.175; Tab.III/366. Tab.(III/366) says that Silhadi told Malik Sher about the daily expenses in his harem which amounted to 1 crore bettle-leaves, several'seers' of camphor and 300 new dresses for his

women companions. Mirat.(p.176) testifies to the great luxury of the harem of Silhadi as 'hardly owned by any other king of the period".

(156) Tab.III/366-67; Mirat.,p.175. For the relation between Durgavati and Bhupat, see Ch.VI n.107 above.

(157) Tab.III/367. See also The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/225. Farishta (IV/122) does not mention Taz Khan and Mirat.(p.175) does not mention any name whatever.

(158) Sultan Alam KHan (according to Memoirs II/272) was the son of Jalal Khan, and the adopted son of Mir Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa, the vazir of Babar (Mirat.,p.176), and was put in charge of Kalpi (Memoirs II/272; Mirat.,p.176). After his defeat at the hands of Mirza Hindal, he fled to Bahadur Shah about the time of the fall of Raisin (Tab.III/367). De has confused him with Sultan Alluddin Lodi s/o Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (Tab.I/52 n.1). Al Badaoni (I/451)also calls him son of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/230) says that he joined Bahadur Shah in 1524-25 A.D.

(159) Mirat.,p.176; Tab.III/367,616. But Tab. does not mention the estate of Silhadi. Farishta (IV/270) mentions only Raisin and no other district. The includion of Chanderi in the jagir of Alam Khan shows that Medini Rai was also reduced by this time (cf. Mirat.,p.179).

(160) Tab.III/367-68; Mirat.,p.177.

(161) Mirat.,p.177.

(162) Farishta IV/123.

(163) Tab.III/368. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/226) gives his name as ~~Bhirangal~~ Bhirhangal.

(164) Mirat.,p.177.

(165) ibid.,p.177; Farishta IV/123. Tab.(III/368) holds that Bahadur Shah joined Muhammad Khan Asiri when he was proceeding to Gagrun and Ram, the governor of the fort fled away as if without fighting.

(166) Tab.III/368.

(167) ibid.,III/368; Mirat.,p.177. Farishta (IV/123) puts Ranthambhor in the place of Mandsaur.

(168) Mirat.,p.177.

(169) ibid.,p.177; Tab.III/368.

(170) Mirat.,p.177.

(171) Farishta IV/270.

(172) Mirat.,p.177. Tab. (III/368) and Farishta (IV/123, 270) do not give the date of his reaching Champaner.

(173) Mirat.,p.177. See Farishta IV/123 and Tab.III/368-69.

(174) Raval Rana ki Vat, ~~leaf-84~~ leaves 81(a)-(b).

(175) Vanshavali 828, leaves 62(a)-(b).

(176) Vanshavali 872,p.131.

(177) Vanshavali 878,leaf 67(b).

(178) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf 2(b).

(179) Vansha Bhaskar, Mayukh 180, pp.2135-43.

(180) ibid.,p.2125. The mother of Surajmal was Kheta Bai ~~(1884)~~ d/o Rao Suja of Marwar (Nensi I/108; Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1701). So Dhanbai Rathor m/o Ratan Singh and Khetu Rathorm/o Surajmal were sisters.

(181) ibid.,p.2126.

(182) ibid.,p.2127.

(183) Nensi i/51.

(184) ibid.,I/52.

(185) Khuman Raso, leaf 127, verses 54-55. See Appendix P.

(186) Nensi I/47-48,109.

(187) Nensi I/51.

(188) Nensi I/52-3.

(189) ibid.,I/110.

(190) ibid.,I/51 .

(191) ibid.,I/53,110. Other Vanshavalis simply say that there was mutual destruction of lives of Ratansi and Surajmal (Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vansha--vali 872, p.131; Vanshavali 878, leaves 67(a)(b); Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(b); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1701). Rawal Rana ki Vat and Khuman Raso give a slightly differ--ent version. See appendices Q and R.

(192) Nensi I/53; Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 82(b).

(193) Nensi I/50. See also Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1701. Kivajana is 20 miles from Bhansrodgadh, 44 miles frpm Chittor, 22 miles from Bundi and 12 miles from Mahnal (Nensi I/50).

(193a) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1702.

(194) Vansh Bhaskar, Nayukh 183, verses 39-40.

(195) Nensi I/53.

(196) Vanshavali 872,p.132.

(197) Amar Kavya, leaves 30(b)-31(a).

(198) Mirat.,p.179. See also Nensi I/54.Vanshavali 878 (leaf 68(a)) and Surya Vansha (leaf 50(b)) have

included the Second Saka of Chittor (1535 A.D.) in the reign of Ratansi due to their confusion between Ratansi I (the husband of fabulous Padmani: Banke--dan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 965) and Ratansi II (s/o Sanga: See Appendix S). The first Saka of Chittor had taken place in the days of Ratansi I (Nensi I/21).

(199) Akbar Nama I/301.

(200) Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(b).

(201) Sisod Vanshavali, item 227.

(202) Rajavali (without pagination); Mewar ka Itihas, item 227.

(203) Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b); Papers in the Collection of Shri Motilalji Shrotriya.

(204) Surya Vansha, leaf 49(b).

(205) See Chart II in Tiwari: Some Undetermined Dates of Mewar, Uni.Poona Journal, 1955, facing p.98.

(206) Vanshavali 826, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,pp.130-1; Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b).

(207) Khuman Raso, leaf 127(b), verse 43.

(208) Vanshavali 828 (leaf 62(b)) gives 13 wives and 5 concubines, Vanshavali 872 (p.132), 1200 wives and 5 concubines, Vanshavali 878 (leaf 67(a)) wives and 5 concubines, Surya Vansha (leaf 50(a)), 13 wives and 5 concubines and Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat (leaf 2(b)) gives only 4 wives.

(209) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf 2(b).

(210) ibid.,leaf 2(b); Nensi I/53.

(211) Badava Devidan, op. cit.,leaf 2(b)

(212) Epi. Ind.,II/42-47.

(213) Vanshavali 828 (leaf 62(a)) gives 10,000 cavalry, 11,000 foot,300 elephants,300 drummers; Vanshavali 872 (p.129) gives 40,000 cavalry, 17,000 foot, 300/~~drummers~~ elephants, 200 drummers, 21 Rajas and 22 Rawats; Vanshavali 878 (leaf 66(b)) gives 10,000 cavalry, 300 foot, 1,100 elephants, 300 drummers; and Rajavali (without pagination) gives 10,000 cavalry, 30,000 foot, 1,100 elephants, 300 drummers, 21 Rajas, 22 Raos and 9 Rawats.

(214) Vanshavali 872, p.129; Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/361; Farishta IV/119.

(215) Vanshavali 872,p.129. 11,000 of Vanshavali 828 (leaf 62(a)) appears to be the mis-rendering of 17,000. It also cannot be accepted that Mewar had only 300 foot (cf. Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b)). The figure 30,000 of Rajavali appearsa little too high though there is not valid reason for rejecting this figure.

(216) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,p.129. When Sanga himself had only 1,000 elephants, it is difficult to believe that with ~~much~~ reduced kingdom Ratansi could maintain 1,100 elephants.

(217) Vanshavali828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b) Rajavali (without pagination).

(218) Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 6~~9~~(b); Surya Vansha, leaf 50(a). All the Vanshavalis except Vanshavali 828 give 1,000 cows. It appears that by mistake the scribe has rendered 11,000 into 1,000.

Appendix 'N' :

'' संवत १५८० राणो सांगोजी वैकुंठ पधारचा । कालपी रे डेरे जेहर हुवो । प्रभार करमचंद रतनसींघजी की धो । पाट रतनसिंघजी बैठाया । भाअी विक्रमादित्यजी ने परा काडचा । हाडी करमेती राव नाराणदासजी री बेटी भुदेसिंघजी रा प्रभ थे बूंदी गया । छ महिना प्रभ है । चौथे महिने बूंदी में भुदयसिंघजी रो जनम हुवो । भाट पदसाहे जहे राखी रो बहानो करने दली हमाजु पतीसाह नखे मोक्लो । हजूर पोहता राखी कागद नजर कीदा । हींदवारी रीत पूछने वोरपूसली रा चून मे रीणथम्भोर दीधो । राखी बंधाअी । पातसाहा कही काचली बहीन मांगे जदी तीयारी है । या कहे ने भाट है सीख दीदी । या रतनसिंघजी सांभल ने राव सुरजमल अुपर प्रस राखी ''

.. रावल राणा री वात, पत्र ८१

Appendix 'O' :

'' नेकमदीत पेता रतनसी माता हाडी करमेती बाअी ''

स्व. मोतीलालजी क्षेत्रीय के संग्रह के पत्र से.

Appendix 'P' :

''सगपण आंणी आसागणेा । मन ही नीणे संक ।
रात दिवस बुंदी रहे । नाहर जेम निसंक ।।
रतन तणे मेवाडघर । मांहरे बाकन देश
अत बुंदी अित चित्रगढ । न नमुं रतन नरेश ।।

.. खुमाण रासेा , पत्र १२७ब.

Appendix 'Q' :

''सीकार खेलता भुला रावजी ने बेठाया दिवाणजी पण बेठा । जीनावर नीसरता हा । चोटेा मलकारी होती थी । अीतरे अेक अेकल नीसरचेा नद हुकम कीधेाजो ठकुजी अेकल जाण न पावे । ठकु चहुवाण समझने रावजी सु कहयेा रावजी अेकल आये है जिणीने जुकेगा नही । रावजी मरे कसीसे बाहता था, नीजर अेकल अुपर थी अितरे ठकु चहुवाण मलकेा रावजी रे लगायेा सेा धुक धुकी रेा लागेा । मलकेा छुट गयेा । रावजी सुधा ठकुल गया । जीव सुस्त हेा गयेा । ठकु हेलेा पाडयो ने कहयेा दीवाण हुकम हुवेा थेा ज्यो अेक लगारचेा

..

Appendix 'Q':(Contd...)

फते हुअी । या सांभल ने दीवाण अुठा दोडे अुपरे आया । दांता अुपरे कबोंड रो गोसोटे हुकम कीधो । अीदा जब रावजी करहाहा । या कहे ठकु सु वात करी । अितरे रावजी हे चेत आयो । पल खुली । देखे तो दीवाण भुा छाती अुपरे । अेक हाथ सु कटारी वाही सो रावजी ने दीवाण भेला रह्या । दीवाण रे पण कटारी कोडी अुपरे वही सो दीवाण तो अुपरे ने राव नीचे ''

.. रावल राणा री वात , पत्र ८१ अ -ब.

Appendix 'R' :

अधिपति बुंदी अुपरे । बडि आयो खुमांण
सुजो आव्योहो सामूंहो । जुडया बिहुं जंग राण ।। ५७।।
सालो बहिनेवी सकज । लगी झुंबो दोअी लोह
पटके सूजो पाडियो । वाह्यो बोल छंछोह ।। ५९ ।।
बोले जब रांणो रतनसी । नेडे आय कही छे अिसी
करतो म्हासुं तुं ही मरोड । झोकायत नित करतो जोड ।।६०।।
धुलि पालि तुझने पाडियो । रांणोजी पगसुं ठेलियो
पडि सुजें पकडि चाल । वाही राणं मणी करवाल ।।६१ ।।
दोही पडिया पूरें लोह । सालाबहि नेवी रो यो मोह
आया कांम दोही भूपती । नणद मोजाअी सती हुअी ।। ६२ ।।

.. खुमाण रासो , पत्र १२७ब.

Appendix 'S' :

'' रतनसींग रांणो सं १५८६ सा. १४५७ पेता सांगो माता राठोड धनबाअी । चीतो रांणी के वचनपर पदमणी परण्या । बारा बरस पातसाह सूं लडता गोरा बादल सू ''

.. स्व. मोतीलालजी श्रोत्रीय के संग्रह के पत्र.

CHAPTER VIII.

RANA VIKRAMAJIT S/O RANA SANGA.

(1532 - 1535 A.D.)

Vikramajit, the second surviving son of Sanga from Hadi Karmeti, succeeded his half-brother Ratansi, who had died issueless. Though the exact date or year of birth of Vikramajit is unknown, it is clear from the available information that he was not a minor at the time of his succession. Sanga had sent him with presents to Bahadur Shah in 1526 A.D.[1] Ratansi had also sent him as the commander of 40,000 cavalry to relieve the fort of Raisin in 1532 A.D.[2] In absence of any proof about the practice of associating minor princes with diplomatic and military missions in Mewar it should be accepted that Vikramajit was quite a grown up boy in 1526 A.D. and was old enough to be entrusted with the responsibility of heading a cavalry force of 40,000 heads, sent for relieving a garrison. So it might be said that Vikramajit was too young to be a ruler but it is wrong to say that he was a minor. It is ~~just possible~~ also well known that at the time of the death of Sanga, Vikramajit held the, if not the, command of the fort of Ranthambhor.[3]

Bahadur Shah's Attack on Chittor:

Bahadur Shah was already busy with his pre-parations for attacking Mewar for Ratansi's inter-

-vention on behalf of Silhadi. In Oct. 1532 A.D.he had despatched from Diu to Muhammadabad a great Egyptian gun,[4] captured from the Portuguese recently.[5] It was so big that many bullocks and 300 sailors could pull it with a great difficulty.[6] Hundred pieces of ordinance and two large size guns[7] were also sent.[7] This artillery was intended to be used for battering down the walls of Chittor.[8] At Batwah[8] he recruited several thousand soldiers,[9] collected a vast quantity of arms,[10] and sent them all to Mandu.[11] Muhammad Khan Asiri, was ordered to move out from Khandesh to attack Chittor and Khudawand Khan, the commander of Mandu, was asked to join him.[12] Meanwhile Ratan si died on November, 2, 1532 A.D. This expedited the attack of Bahadur on Mewar. On learning about the safe arrival of arms and army at Mandu, the Sultan left Champaner on November 16 and by forced marches reached Mandu on November 18. Orders were issued to Muhammad Khan Asiri and Khudavand Khan to proceed against Chittor.[13]

When they reached Mandsaur they met emiss--aries of Rana Vikramajit with proposals for peace which stipulated surrender by the Rana of all his possessions in Malwa, submission to any terms imposed by the Sultan, acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Sultan, and willingness to perform all the duties demanded of him.[14] The Sultan (then at Mandu) was at once sounded by the commanders through Shujat Khan. Bahadur was so much offended at the intervention of Ratansi in

the Silhadi affair that he refused to listen to these overtures and ordered his army to press on.[15] Tatar Khan, the grand son of Bahlol Lodi, was asked to take the initiative in laying siege to the fort of Chittor.[16] Tatar Khan moved cautiously dreading an engagement. But the Rana dared not risk any battle.[16] So the forces of Gujarat besieged the fort of Chittor in Dec. 1532 A.D.[17] On Feb., 9, 1533 A.D. Tatar Khan conquered the lower fortifications of Chittor[18]. Next day he attacked the fort from the side called Kotha and carried two (western?) gates.[18] The Sultan at Mandu was informed of this success. So by forced marches he reached Chittor at the head of 5,000 horse within 24 hours from Mandu. A big army followed him. From the hill of Chittor cannonade was ordered. Each discharge brought down some portion of the wall of the fort.[18] The Sultan ~~himself~~ exerted himself in a commendable way. At Lakhota Gate battery Alif Khan was appointed. Tatar Khan and Medini Rai and most of the Afgan and Deccani nobles were fixed at Hanuman Pol battery. White bastion battery was supervised by Mallu Khan, Sikandar Khan and other nobles of Malwa. Bhupat Rai and Alif Khan were also similarly assigned important assignments.[19] The strong armament and ammunition available with the Sultan were enough to besiege four forts similar to Chittor.[20] Parties were sent to ravage the adjoining country of the Rana. Rumi Khan exhibited great skill in mounting guns on the hill-tops of the adjoining elevations and in aiming the guns. His bombardment

of the positions inside the fort was very accurate. The quick firings, the mining operations and the - running up of approaches showed him as an excellent mark-man.[21]

In this extreme distress Vikramajit made an appeal to Humayun for help.[22] The request remained barren. The plea of Farishta[23] that Humayun moved to Gwalior after this request is incorrect.[24]

The siege of Chittor lasted for 3 months[25]. During this period the Rajputs defended the fort bravely and made gallant sorties[26]. The Gujarat army also met their challenge boldly and beat them off. Both the parties performed several gallant deeds.[26] Rumi Khan exhibited great skill. He fired hell upon the garrison.[27] Ultimately Rumi Khan succeeded in breaching a wall.[28] The engagement which followed saw many Rajputs, including 17 nobles killed[29]. However, the fort did not fall though its defence was despaired of even by the besieged.[30] So a peace proposal was made by Karmeti[31] through her son-in-law Bhupat to the Sultan[32]. The envoys of the Sultan visited the fort and trusted men of the Rana went to the camp of the Sultan to settle the terms of the treaty.[33]

Karmeti's Negotiations with Bahadur Shah:

Karmeti solicited pardon for her son, Vikramajit, and promised that in future he would remain the most obedient servant of the Sultan. The surrender of the trophies and jewels of Malwa, ten million tankas, 100 horses and 10 elephants was also

promised,[34] provided the Sultan spared the place and marched away.[35] 10 million tankas were in those days equivalent to 5 lakhs of rupees.[36] So whatever the Muslim historians might claim, the money and animals proposed to Bahadur Shah do not indicate that it was a big triumph. So not the reasonability of the terms of this treaty(which, according to Mirat-i-Sikandari, was the ground for their acceptance by Bahadur[37]) but the Portuguese menace in Diu[38] and the movements of Nizamuddin Deccani[39] were also the weighty reasons for compelling Bahadur to patch up a peace. Udai Singh was given in hostage by the Rana.[40] On receiving the stipulated amount and animals, Bahadur Shah retired two miles from Chittor on March, 23, 1533 A.D.[41]

Loss of Ajmer and Ranthambhor:

From his headquarters two miles f away from Chittor, Bahadur Shah despatched Malik Shamsherul Mulk Nulia Khan with 12 dobles to conquer Ajmer.[42] Similarly, Barhanul Mulk Muhammad Bayani and Mujahid Khan were sent to reduce Ranthambhor[43]. Rumi Khan also accompanied this party. Ranthambhor was besieged. During the siege Bahadur Shah promised the fort of Ranthambhor to Rumi Khan. However, after its fall, Bahadur was dissuaded from cashing his promise by Amin Nas. So Rumi Khan was promised the fort of Chittor, after its capture in the near future.[44] On March, 30, Bahadur left for Mandsaur from his camp near Chittor.[45]

This makes two things clear. Firstly, the price paid by Karmeti was simply for raising the siege, and

sparing the fort, of Chittor (cf. the conquests of Ajmer and Ranthambhor). And secondly, the Sultan had in his mind the idea of attacking Chittor in some near future (cf. the promise of the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan).

Mewar Between the Two Attacks of Bahadur Shah:

Vikramajit exhibited the worst features of his character after the departure of the Gujarati forces from Mewar. He took to drinking[46] and committed himself to the company of wrestlers and low born[47]. He boasted ludly about the physical prowess of his wrestler - companions;[47] and openly insulted the Rajputs.[48] These wrestlers received free ration of "ghee" (clarified butter), wheat and meat from the State.[49] This dis--gusted the nobles. Some Rajput officers, including Duna Mehta, colluded with the Minas (Meos) and other anti-social elements, who lifted away the state-cattle from the plains under the nose of the fort of Chittor.[49] The officers commanded by Vikramajit to pursue the gangsters refused to carry out the order.[49] The Rana could also do nothing except nursing his anger against these disobedient officers in his palace.[50]

Flight of Udai Singh to Mewar from Gujarat:

About this time, another turn for the worse occured. Udai Singh, who was handed over to Bahadur Shah in hostage, returned to Mewar under peculiar cir--cumstances. Bahadur, being issuless, wanted to adopt him as his son and successor after converting him to

Islam. This wish he had also expressed to some of his confidential advisors. The Rajputs, who had -- accompanied the prince to Gujarat, on learning about this plan, fled precipitately to Chittor under the cover of darkness to save the prince's religion. Soon their flight became known to Bahadur. He was greatly offended by it and attacked Mewar in effect.[51] However, these events were simply occasions for the ventilation of the inner ani-mosity lying stored in the heart of Bahadur for Sanga's invasion of Gujarat and his taking away of the notable families of Ahmednagar in slavery, including the daughter of the Qazi of the place.[52] Bahadur wanted to avenge Ahmadnagar on Chittor.[52] The time was also opportune because the nobles were estranged from the Rana.[53]

Bahadur Shah's Second Siege of Chittor: Battle of Jiran

Bahadur Shah had already collected a huge army comprising recruits from Khandesh, the Deccan, Konkan and Gujarat. Even the Portuguese and the Mughals were drafted into this force[54]. All told, it consisted of 1,80,000 soldiers and 1,400 elephants.[55] On learning about the internal dissensions in Mewar,[56] he left Mandu for Chittor at the head of this army.[57]

When the intelligence of the intended attack of Bahadur Shah oh Chittor reached - Vikramajit[58] through the Vakils of Mewar in

Mandu,[59] he sent word to the nobles to repair to Chittor with their armies.[60] Rao Dalpat of Dumpat,[61] Jhala Sajja,[62] Rawal Ashokamal Pawar,[63] Kalla Chundawat,[64] Rao Asakaran,[65] Rawat Kheta[66] and many others joined the Rana[67]. Rana Vikramajit placed himself at the head of this army which consisted of cavalry and elephantry[68] and rode out to meet the invaders beyond Nimuch, at Jiran[69], near Mandsaur[70]. The young Rana and Bahadur Shah rode on their respective elephants to direct their armies.[71] Vikramajit was too young to match the trained army and the advanced strategy of Bahadur Shah. Besides, the artillery of Gujarat was, again, a very powerful weapon against the Sisodias[72] who had not by that time equipped themselves with fire-arms. Soon after the beginning of the battle the defeat of the Mewar army became evident. Differences sprung up between the Rana and his nobles. The Rajput soldiers taunted the Rana about his past remarks about the uselessness of the Rajputs as a fighting apparatus and withdrew from the field with an admonition to the Rana to call his wrestler-companions to fight[73]. The Sisodia army and the nobles fled in all the four dir--ections[74] It was a complete victory of Bahadur.[75] Vikramajit also fled[76] to Chittor[77] counting wounds on his person[78] and closed the gates of the fort.[78]

Bahadur reconnoitrated the field and set down to invest the fort[79] in Nov.-Dec.1534 A.D.[80] The management and command of the siege was entrusted to Rumi Khan on the reiterated promise of handing over

the fort of Chittor after its fall[81]. Rumi Khan exerted himself in a superhuman, and the most excellent, way.[81] His guns and ammunition as well as trained Pourtuguese artillery-men performed miracles[82].

Meanwhile, offended, besides other reasons[83], by the attack of Bahadur Shah's general Tatar Khan on Biana[84] and Burhanul Mulk's attack on Nagor[85], Humayun marched out from Agra on Feb. 18,1535 A.D. to oppose Bahadur[86]. While at Gwalior he learnt about Bahadur Shah's siege of Chittor[87]. However, he pressed on. The garrison of Raisin surrendered without any opposition[88]. Bahadur Shah begged him to spare the Sultan till he defeated the infidels at Chittor[89]. Humayun gave no reply[90]. Leaving Mandu in the rear, Humayun reached as far as Sarangpur[90] which also surrendered[91]. Terrified by the news of the rapid march of Humayun into Malwa, Bahadur Shah called a meeting of his nobles for counsel.[92] All except Sadr Khan advised for raising up the siege and fight with the Mughals[93]. Sadr Khan Hussain Abdul Latif reminded the Sultan ~~of~~ to of the Quranic obligation which bound Humayun and requested the Sultan to carry on the siege[93]. His advice prevailed and the siege went on[93]. Humayun, on learning about this conference[94], halted at Sarangpur to save his co-religionist from molestation while the latter was waging a holy war[95]. However, the authorities are not unanimous about the party which took initiative in getting this Mughal halt. Tabkat-i Akbari[96], and Al Badaoni[97] hold that Humayun halted of his own accord at Sarangpur in confirmity with the rules of Islam. Mirat-i Sikandari[98] also holds this view but says that

Humayun halted at Gwalior. Akbar Nama[99] says that the [illegible] halted at Ujjain. Jauhar[100], on the other hand, says that Humayun halted somewhere near Chittor at the request of Bahadur Shah. The Rana requested the Emperor through Dungarsi, a natural son of Rana Sanga, for aid[101]. Though the time of this request is not mentioned, it is not irreasonable to infer that it would have been addressed to Humayun when the latter's determination to halt at Sarangpur would have become known to the Rana. However, religious scruples proved too powerful for the emperor[102].

Bahadur Shah went on with the siege of Chittor apparently undisturbed[103] though the reverses of the Gujarat arms at Biana and the surrender of the forts of Raisin and Sarangpur had chastened him[104]. However, the failure of Humayun to come to their aid made the garrison desperate. Rawat Bagh Surajamalot of Deolia was elected " the king[105] of Chittor[106]". He gave grant of some land for the peace of the soul of his father[107]. He had already extracted a promise from Karmeti that the grant of villages made by his father in Sadadi in the days of Rana Raimal should never be annulled, as a price for his consent for acting as "the Rana of Chittor"[108].

With the permission of Bagh Singh, Vikramjit and Udai Singh were removed from Chittor to Bundi under the escort of Ravat Udayaditya and Chakrasen Dhandhariya[109]. Meanwhile the Gujarati forces succeeded in running a mine under a tower called Bikakoh[110]. 35 hand length wall blew up[111]. ~~Rao~~ Arjun, s/o ~~Rao~~ Narbad of Bundi, along with 5 other nobles, was blown up[112]. Immediately Rao Duda and Satta Sisodia rushed to

the breach and succeeded in stemming the rush of the invaders into the fort[113]. Others also ran to their help and the attack did not succeed[113]. No Muslim historian mentions this event, which, by itself, points to the failure of this attack. The wall-piece again landed in its place[114]. The fact that the fort did not fall due to this exploison is a safe clue for inferring that the garrison succeeddd in healing up the wall promptly while Durga and Satta were fighting off the assailants[115]. The siege lasted for 3 months[116]. Bahadur Shah by them succeeded in building some covered ways[117].

Second Saka of Chittor:-

Finding no alternative other than death, the garrison performed "Jauhar"[118]. These Babies which were not consigned to fire were thrown into tanks or wells or other such acquatic places[119]. This Saka perished a daughter of Karmeti (w/o Bhati Chand Khichi), two wives of Rana Vikramjit[120], Padmavati (w/o Rao Ganga)[121] and about 13,000 other ladies along with their children[122]. The native authorities are not unanimous about Karmeti. Some hold that she also perished in this general conflagaration[123]. Kavi Rao[124], an almost near contemporary poet, and Vanshavali 828[125] say that she doned herself in male attires and fought to her death with sword in hand. The malefolk,clad in suffron robes, rushed upon the invaders and sold their lives very dearly. Solanki Bhairavdas fought at Rampol and died[126]. Sinha Jhala Ajjawat[127] and Sajja Jhala bore the brunt of the battle at Hanuman Pol[128]. Dodya Ajjawat, Sajja, Narayandas, Dodya Chandra Bhan, Chauhan Isardas, Hathi Sonagara,

Rawat Bagh's Cenetoph,
Chittor.

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Ranigade Chauth Singh[129], Rawat Duda Ratansinghot, Sonigara Mala (s/o Vala), Chundawat Nanga Singhot (b/o Gagga), Panchayana Pawar (s/o Karamchanda Pawar)[130], Purohit Devidas[131], Karma Ratansinghot Chundawat[132], Ragodas[133], Dhandhriya Randhir[134], Fatta[135] and Udaidas Munjawat Rathor[135a] ~~and~~ with about 13,000 soldiers sold their lives very dearly to the invaders[136]. Bodies of about 3,000 babies were later on recovered by the invaders from wells, tanks other acquatic places[137]. Rawat Bagh Singh (now the Rana of Chittor) fought bravely and fell fighting near Pandalpol gate of the fort[138]. Bahadur Shah was the first man to enter into the fort[139]. A great massacre was perpetrated[140]. Numberless captives of both the sexes were taken ~~captive~~[141]. ~~In a special function arranged for the~~ Huge booty was also received[142]. It was Feb.27,1535 A.D.[143]. In a special function[144] all the spoils of Chittor were distributed among the soldiers[145].

Bahadur Shah had promised the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan[146] but after its conquest, on the advice of other nobles against handing over such a powerful and strategic fort to an alien,[147] it was made over by the Sultan to Malik Shamsher-ul Mulk[148].

Bahadur Shah and Humayun Near Mandsaur:

After a stay of 14 days in Chittor[149] to carry out repairs[150], Bahadur moved towards Humayun[151], who also in his turn, moved from Sarangpur to meet him[152]. Both the armies met in the district of Mandsaur[153]. Sadr Khan's advice to engage the Mughals immediately,

when the Gujarat army was in excellent spirit, was rejected by Bahadur in favour of Rumi Khan's proposal to surround the camp, on the pattern of the strategy of Rum, with gun-carriages[154] or ditches[155], inspite of the objections from the nobles[156]. Both the armies lay encamped opposite each other for about two months[157]. About this time Alam Khan came from Raisin with a large army and joined Bahadur[158]. Many skirmishes took place[159]. The Mughals hovered around the Gujarat camp but did not attack it and avoided their guns[160]. Supply of Bahadur Shah was cut off[160]. The Gujaratis were boxed up in their camp[160] and suffered a great famine[161]. The Sultan was terrified[161] he ordered the destruction of jewels and other valuable articles, mutilated his favourite elephants and burst his guns including the famous pair - Laila and Majanu[162]. Under the cover of night he fled[163] towards Mandsaur[164] ~~with the help of Durgabhan~~[165] and thence moved to Mandu with the help of Rao Durgabhan of Rampura[165]. It was April 25,1535 A.D.[165a]. On learning about his flight the army of Gujarat either melted away[165b] or was despersed by the Mughals[166].

Reconquest of Chittor by the Sisodias:

The despersion of the Gujarat army and the fact of the flight of Bahadur Shah to Mandu presented the nobles of Mewar with a golden opportunity to liberate the fort of Chittor. The fact that the combined strength of the garrisons of Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Chittor could not be more than 20,000 cavalry[167] shows that the number of the Gujarat army in Chittor at this time was not very large.

Rao Surtan of Bundi, the host of Viramajit, sent a message tp Humayun through Padam Shah for aid[168]. Humayun repponded favourably[168]. Possbily, Humayun sent some Mughal soldiers for helping the Sisodias. With 5-7,000 soldiers the Sisodias attacked the fort of Chittor[169] and reconquered it on May 4,1535 A.D.[170] Raval Rana ki Vat[171] says that after the conquest of Mandu , Humayun turned towards, and conquered, Chittor. It further adds that Humayun enquired from Padam Shah about the whereabouts of Vikramajit. On learning that the Rana was then in Bundi, he was called to Chittor by the emperor; and on his return Humayun himself girdled the royal sword around the young Rana's waist.[171] Muhnot Nensi also confirms the fact of Humayun's coming to Chittor and his participation in the reconquest of this fort[172]. No Muslim historian has referred to these events. However, all Vanshavalis[173] corroborate the main trends of this account. What appears most probable in the light of the testimony of these Rajput chronicles is that some Mughal help was received by Vikramjit in the reconquest of Chittor. However, it is improbable that Humayun personally participated in the installation ceremony of Vikramjit there. The only available instance of Humayun's approach to the fort of Chittor is his meeting with his half-brother Mirza Asakari "near Chittor" when the latter was moving from Ahmedabad to Delhi in rebellion against Humayun, then in Mandu[174]. Possibly, this event has been inflated by the chroniclers of Mewar into Humayun's entry into the fort of Chittor and his participation in the "second" investiture of Vikramaditya.

Assassination of Vikramjit:-

Vikramjit's recent stay in Bundi was too sweet to teach him any lesson. So instead of being grateful to his nobles for their initiative in the reconquest of Chittor, he started insulting them with an added zeal. One day he got foul water released on the person of Rawat Khan while the latter was on his way to the court. As if this affront to a respectable noble was not enough, on the same day the Rana managed to punch the nose of Karam Chand Pawar in the open darbar. Ravat Khan tauntingly enquired ~~from Ashok~~ from Karam Chand Pawar just after this event about the sweet scent of the flower thus offered by the Rana. This incensed Karam Chand into a retort that very soon those flowers were to mature into ~~fui~~ fruits. Both of them wrote to Banavir and recalled him to Mewar[175] from Gujarat[176]. Banavir soon became a favourite of the young Rana[177]. Some time afterwards these nobles suggested to Banavir to murder Vikramjit. Banavir~~m~~ excused himself by protesting his own illegitimate birth which was a bar to his ~~re~~sumption of the royalty of Mewar. But the conspirators encouraged him by saying that whatever the nobles would decide was to be final. Banavir agreed[178]. Rajavali disagrees with this view and holds that all nobles, except Raval Khan, were involved in the plot on the life of Vikramjit.[179] This view is corroborated by Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat which says that Rawat Khan, known for his loyalty to Vikramjit, was kept out of Chittor by sending him (Rawat Khan) away to his father-in-law's home on the

festival of "Tija"[180] (which occurs every year on Śravan Krishna 3).

One day at about 8 P.M.[180], Banavir, his brother-in-law Dakhani[181] (Daksh Singh) and several other nobles[182] entered into the female apartments of Vikramajit and proceeded to kill him. Vikramjit, then taking bath,[183] solicited mercy on the plea that the whole of Mewar b lay in the hands of Banvir, who was his älder brother, and that itwas due to his (Banavir's) presence and protection that he (Vikramjit) was feeling secure. Banavir's heart melted at this pètious appeal[184] but his brother-in-law Dakhani, inspite of Banavir's objection,[185] killed Vikramjit by cutting his throat[186]. Raval Rana ki Vat, on the other hand, says that one day in darbar at a pre-concerted signal, Banavir attacked Vikramjit with a dagger and killed him there and then[187]. This is incorrect because had it not been the night time, Panna, the foster-mother of Udai Singh, could not have substituted her own son in the bed of her ward without detection, as we shall see below.

After despatching Vikramjit, the assassins proceeded to kill Udai Singh.[188] The nobles could not stand it and raised some hue and cry[189]. On hearing cries of lamentations from the palace of Vikramjit and on being informed of the murder of the Rana[189], Panna[190], hurriedly removed her sleeping ward from his cot and substituted her own son in his place. Banavir soon arrived and killed the innocent son of Panna, inspite of the entreaties of its weeping mother, and left the palace[191]. Raval Rana ki Vat says that after killing Vikramjit, Banavir and others moved into the palace of Udai Singh, who was

then taking his mid-day meal. Panna, already informed of the murder of Vikramjit, removed him outside the fort and got her own son killed instead[192]. This is again impossible because in the broad day light nobody would have failed to detect the proxy of Udai Singh.

Thus died Vikramjit at the hands of assassins, hired by the nobles. As a prince he did show some diplomacy by shrewdly negotiating with Babar to threaten Ratansi. However,as a ruler he exhibited in his make all those qualities which make a bad king. Bad company and power spoiled him. Even II Saka of Chittor failed to cure him. The only fruitful act of his reign was the bestowal of the fief of Kumbhalner on his younger brother Udai Singh. As Udai Singh is said to have lived at Kumbhalner for 7 years upto the time of his expulsion of Banavir from Chittor[193] in 1541 A.D.,this grant might have been made in cir. 1534 A.D.

Chronology of ~~Banavir~~ Vikramjit:

The reign of Vikramjit is said to be either of 2 yrs 7 months and 3 days[194] or 2 yrs 9 months and 3 days[195] or 8 yrs 1 month and 3 days[196]. The sum of 8 yrs 1 month and 3 days appears to be the aggregate of the reigns of Vikramjit, Banavir and Rawat Bagh. Ravat Bagh Singh appear-s to have ruled for(2 yrs 9 months and 3 days - 2 yrs 7 months and 3 days =) 2 months. By adding 2 yrs 9 months and 3 days to Kartika Shukla 8, 1589 V.S. (= Nov.5,1532 ADD.) the date of the assassination of Ratansi in Bundi) we get Shravan Shukla 5, 1591 V.S. (= Sunday, July 11, 1535 A.D. or Monday August 9,1535 A.D. due to intercallory

month). It was the 17th lunar day after the festival of "Tija" which had offered an occasion to the conspirators to remove Ravat Khan to his father-in-law's place. Thus Vikramjit ascended the throne of Mewar on Tuesday, Nov. 5,1532 A.D., recovered Chittor from the Gujarat garrison on May 4,1535 A.D. and was assassinated on either July 11 or August 9, 1535 A.D.

Family of Vikramjit:-

Vikramjit is said to have had 5 wives[197]. Badava Devidan gives the names of only four of the first three them, out of whom immolated themselves on his pyre[198]. Their names are:

(1) Lakh Kumar d/o Rao Sursena Solanki.
(2) Rajamata d/o Rao Bhagwandas Solanki.
(3) Harsamde d/o Rao Ganga Rathor of Marwar
(4) Chauhan Chandramanta d/o Hada Kalla Jagmalot.

We know ~~the~~ from Nensi[199] that his two wives - the daughter of Kalla and the daughter of Devidas - had sacrificed their lives in the Second Saka of Chittor. Thus four ladies mentioned by Devidan and one d/o Devidas, in all five wives were taken by Vikramjit upto the time of his death. None of these bore any issue to him.

Inscriptions and Coins:-

Two coins of Vikramjit were collected by Cunningham. One their reverse a Persian legend reading the word "Sultan" was given. On the obverse the legend

gave
~~gave~~-"Rana Vikramaditya"[200]. A pholographs of one another coin of Vikramjit was recently published in the Journal of Numismatic Society of India by Dr. Katare[201]. The legend on its obverse reads "Virkrammaya" and bears in Nagari numericals the figure 1592. On the reverse lies ~~was~~ the Persian legend reading "Al Sultan bin Sultan"[202]. No inscription of his reign is so far discovered.

Several copper-plates recording the grants of lands by this Rana are stored in Chief Commissioner Office, Udaipur. One of them records the grant of a village to Purohit Jana Shankar on the occasion of the marriage of the Rana with Lakh Kumar d/o Bhavanidas Solanki at Mandalgadh.[203]

Army of Vikramjit:-

Vanshavali 872[204] says that Vikramjit had 11,000 foot, 300 elephants Cavalry 70,000 cavalry/and 300 drummers. The ~~latter~~ figure appears to a misreading of 10,000. So it might be said that Vikramjit had 10,000 infantry,10,000 cavalry, 300 elephants and 300 drummers.

Charities of Vikramjit:-

No Vanshavali mentions the daily charities of this Rana. His aggregate charities during his reign were, according to Vanshavali 872[205], 500 cows, 1 elephant, 15 villages and 15 plots of land. Vanshavali 878[206] and Surya Vansha[207] give 100 cows, 11 horses , 1 elephant, 5 villages and 15 plots of land.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Mirat-i Sikandari, pp.158-59; Tab. III/343.

(2) Mirat.,p.172; Tab. III/361; Farishta IV/119.

(3) Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramdit aur Udai Singh ra (Appendix T), verse 1. See also Memoirs II/341.

(4) Mirat.,p.177.

(5) cf. Tab.III/369.

(6) Mirat.,p.177.

(7) Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.243.

(8) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.177.

(9) ibid.,p.177; Tab. III/369.

(10) Mirat.,p.177.

(11) ibid.,p.178.

(12) ibid.,p.178. See also Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.244.

(13) ibid.,p.178. It was about this time that Nasib Shah of Bengal, fearing an attack from Humayun, sent pre-sents to Bahadur Shah (Tab.III/444-45) for securing his aid. Malik Marjan, the envoy of Nasib Shah, had an interview with Sultan Bahadur at Mandu and was honoured with a special robe of honour (Tab.III/445; Farishta IV/352).

(14) Mirat.,p.178. This attempt at peace by the Rana is mentioned neither in Tab. nor Farishta. Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.244) does not mention the terms.

(15) Mirat.,p.178. Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.244) simply says that these terms were rejected.

(16) ibid.,p.178.

(17) Tatar Khan might have reached Chittor in the beginning of Dec.1532 A.D., as can be inferred from the fact that the siege of Chittor lasted for more

than three months (Tab.III/369) and came to an end in March 1533 A.D.(Mirat.,p.179).

(18) Mirat.,p.178.

(19) ibid.,p.179.

(20) Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi (Quoted in Mirat.,p.179).

(21) Mirat.,p.179.

(22) Farishta IV/73-74. Oza(Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas,I/396) and Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.50) interpret this as a request for help as sending "Rakhi" by Karmeti to Humayun.

(23) ibid,,IV/74.

(24) cf. Gulbadan Begam: Humayun,p.117.

(25)Farishta IV/74.

(26) Tab.III/369.

(27) Mirat.,p.179.

(28)The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227.

(29) Nensi I/54.

(30) Mirat.,p.179.

(31) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227; Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.244; Mirat.i Sikandari,p.179. Tab.(III/369) and Farishta (IV/125) hold that the Rana himself proposed these terms. Nensi (I/54) refers to these negotiation but is silent about the party which initiated them.

(32) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227.

(33) Nensi I/54.

(34) Mirat.,p.179. Farishta (IV/124) and Tab.(III/369) do not mention the exact figures of the horses, elephants and the ready cash paid by the Sisodias to Bahadur Shah. Farishta further does not mention the crown though Tab. speaks separately about the cap and the crown.

(35) Mirat-i Ahmmadi,p.244.

(36) ibid.,p.245.

(37) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.179.

(38) ibid.,pp.183-84; Tab.III/368-69; Farishta IV/123.

(39) Mirat.,p.180.

(40) Nensi I/54.

(41) Mirat.,pp.179-80. Farishta (IV/124) puts this event in 1533-34 A.D. Tab.(III/369) does not give its year or date.

(42) Mirat.,p.180.

(43) ibid.,p.180. Though Tab. and Farishta do not refer to the conquest of Ranthambhor by Bahadur they mention it ~~as being~~ in the hands of the Sultan on III/370 and IV/123 respectively. However, it should be noted that, according to Farishta (IV/123) the attack on Ranthambhor was made after the fall of Gagrun in May 1532 A.D.

(44) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/229.

(45) Mirat.,p.180. His camp reached Mandu on April 1533A.D.

(46) Vansha Bhaskar, Mayukh 183,verse 61.

(47) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 82(b); Kavi Rao's Kavitta Vikramdit eur Udai Singh ra (Appendix T), verse 4.

(48) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 82(b)

(49) ibid, leaf 83(a)

(50) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 5.

(51) Nensi I/54.

(52) cf. Mirat.,p.139.

(53) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

(54) ibid.,leaf 84(a); Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix), verse 7.

(55) Nensi I/55.

(56) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 6.

(57) cf. ibid., verse 6 and Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.247.

(58) Raval Rana ki Vat, leafes 84(a).

(59) Kavi Rao, Kavitta (Appendix T), verse 8.

(60) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

(61) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix), verse 11.

(62) cf. ibid.,verse 12.

(63) cf. ibid.,verse 13.

(64) cf. ibid.,verse 14; Nensi I/34.

(65) Kavi Rao. Kavittas, verse 15.

(66) cf. ibid., verse 17.

(67) cf. ibid.,verses 8,10. Most of the persons referred to by Nensi (I/55) would have collected by this time.

(68) ibid., verse 8.

(69) ibid., verses 8,9.

(70) The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/226.

(71) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b).

(72) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verse 9.

(73) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b).

(74) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verses 10-17.

(75) Vanshavali 872,p.133. Al Badaoni (I/453) and The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/226) vaguely hint about this battle.

(76) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b); Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verse 16.

(77) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verse 18.

(78) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

(79) ibid, leaf 85(b); The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/230.

(80) It is said that the siege ended on either March 3,

1535 A.D. (Vanshavali 872,p.133) or Feb.27,1535 A.D. (Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a)) or March 8,1535 A.D. (Akbar Nama I/301) after a ~~siege~~ duration of 3 months (Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 87(a)). So it would have began in Dec.1534 A.D.

(81) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/230; Mirat.,p.185.

(82) Mirat.,p.185.

(83) The asylum to Muhammad Zaman Mirza (Tab.III/369; Al Badaoni I/452; Mirat.,p.180; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/294; Farishta IV/124; Akbar Nama I/294), refusal to extradict him to the Mughals or expel him from Gujarat (Mirat.,p.181; Farishta IV/124; Akbar Nama I/294), writing rude letters to Humayun (Mirat., pp.181-84), etc.,

(84) Mirat.,pp.186; Tab.III/380-81,II/48; Farishta II/74, IV/125; Akbar Nama I/299; Gulbadan Begam: Humayun Nama,p.129; Al Badaoni I/457.

(85) Mirat.,p.186.

(86) Humayun Nama,p.186.

(87) Mirat.,p.186.

(88) Akbar Nama I/300.

(89) Farishta IV/126; Jauhar: Private Memoirs of Emperor Humayun (Stewart Tr.),p.4.

(90) Farishta IV/126.

(91) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/238.

(92) Al Badaoni I/453; Farishta II/75-6,IV/126;Tab.II/49, III/371-72.

(93) Tab.II/49,III/372; Farishta II/75-6; Akbar Nama I/301.

(94) Tab.II/49,III/372.

(95) Tbid.,II/49,III/372; Farishta II/75.

(96) Tab.II/49,III/372.

(97) Al Badaoni I/453-54.

(98) Mirat.,p.186.

(99) Akbar Nama I/301.

(100) Jauhar: Private Memoirs of Emperor Humayun,p.4.

(101) Vanshavali 828,leaf 63(b); Vanshavali 872,pp.128-29; Vanshavali 878,leaf 68(a). This event is wrongly interpretated by Tod (I/365) as sending of Rakhi by Karmeti to Humayun.

(102) Sri Ram Sharma: The Religious Policy of the Mughals, p.10.

(103) Farishta IV/126.

(104) Mirat.,p.187; Tab.II/48.

(105) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a). According to a tradition in Mewar, whenever the fort of Chittor was in danger of falling in the hands of some enemy, the guardian-deity of the fort was to be propitiated through the blood of some one wearing the royal umbrella over his head (Tod, op. cit.,I/378). The sons of Padmani wore crown and died next day in the battlefields under similar circumstances in I Saka of Chittor (ibid,I/310).

(106) Yogiraj: Hari Pingal Prabandh (See Appendix U(I). In virtue of this coronation of Bagh Singh, his descendants are called "Devalia Diwan".

(107) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a).

(108) Nensi I/94. ~~These villages were in Badi Sadari~~. There names are:

Bhimal, Dharna, Godhiya, Bijhana, Bisola, Baliya, Thahasana, Charan Khedi, Khar Devala, Bharki and Suali (Nensi I/94)

(109) Raval Rana ki Vatan, leafes 86(a)-(b).

(110) ibid.,leaf 85(b). The mine was run under the supervision of Lakheri Khan Firangi (ibid.,leaf85(b))

(111) ibid.,leaf 85(b).

(112) ibid.,leafes 85(b)-86(a). See also Nensi (I/55) which says that Arjun died in the Second Saka and not by the blowing up of the wall. Surprisingly "Surjan-charitra" written about 25 years after this event does not mention this event amongst the exploits of the ancestors of Rao Surjan.

(113) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a).

(114) ibid.,leaf 86(a).

(115) ibid.,leaf 86(a), informs us that a very fierce fighting took place on this occasion.

(116) ibid.,leaf 87(a).

(117) Tab.III/372.

(118) Nensi I/55; Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a); Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a).

(119) Nensi I/55.

(120) ibid.,I/55. The presence of these ladies in the fort is an additional evidence of the Ranas having left Chittor during the siege.

(121) Rathoran ri ~~Khyat~~ Vanshavali, leaf 39(a); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 116.

(122) Raval Rana ki Vatan, leaf 86(b). Some of these jumped from the ramparts and many drowned themselves (ibid., leaves 86(b)-87(a)). About 7,000 died by opium (Nensi I/55).

(123) Nensi I/55; Raval Rana ki Khyat, leaf 86(b).

(124) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, Appendix T, verse 19.

(125) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a).

(126) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 21. Oza (Raj. Iti.,II/1285) says that he died at Bhairavapol.

(127) Oza, op. cit.,II/1182. See also Kavi Rao: Kavittas, Appendix T, verse 21.

(128) ibid.,II/1207. See also Kavi Rao, verse 21.

(129) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(b). Vanshavali (leaf 54(b) Vanshavali 872 (p.134), and Vanshavali 878 (leaf 68(a)) mention Duda and Chandra Bhan (alias Dodiya Bhan). The name of Bhala Singh Ajjawat is mentioned by Nensi (I/55).

(130) Nensi I/55. Rawat Satta is mentioned in Vanshavali 872 (p.134) and Vanshavali 878 (leaf 68(b)). The name of Panchayan Pawar is given by Jada Mahada in Sardul Parmar ka Yuddha, verse 9 and Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1626.

(131) Vanshavali 828, leaf 54(b); Vanshavali 872,p.134; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(b). According to the Rathoran ri Khyat (leaf 36(a)) Devidas Rathor s/o Rao Suja of Marwar died in this Saka.

(132) He jumped from the wall of the fort and died (Vanshavali 828, leaf 54(b); Vanshavali 872,p.134; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a)).

(133) Vanshavali 872, p.134. Raghodas appears to be a descendant of Karam Chand Pawar Pawar (cf. ~~Sahil-P~~ Sardul Parmar ka Yuddha, verse 9).

(134) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 21.

(135) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(b).

(135A) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1006.

(136) Raval Rana ki Vatan, leaf 86(b).

(137) Nensi I/55.

(138) The place where Bagh fell is still commemorated by a memorial stone.

(139) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/238. The view of Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.248) that the fort surrendered this time is absolutely wrong.

(140) Tab.III/372.

(141) Nensi I/55.

(142) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(b); Tab.II/49.

(143) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 72(b) There is no unanimity amongst the authorities about the date of the fall of Chittor in the hands of Bahadur Shah. Vanshavali 872 (p.133) gives March 3, 1535 A.D. (Chaitra Krishna 30,1591 V.S.) and Vanshe Akbar Nama (I/301) gives March 8,1535 A.D. All other authorities are silent about the date of this event. However, there is an indirect clue. 14 days after the fall of Chittor to Bahadur Shah, the Sultan left Chittor to oppose Humayun (Rawal Rana ki Vat,leaf 86(a) The armies of Humayun and Bahadur stood before each other in the district of Mandsaur for a period of about 2 months (Al Badaoni I/454; Farishta II/76,IV/127; Tab.III/373). Then on April 25,1535 A.D. Bahadur fled his camp (The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/240, 249; Akbar Nama I/303). Thus a period of about two months and a half passed between the fall of Chittor and the flight of Bahadur Shah from Mandsaur. If March 8,1535 A.D. be accepted as the date of the fall

of Chittor, the date of the flight of Bahadur would be in the fourth week of ~~April~~ May which conflicts with the date given by Abul Fazl and the Arabic History of Gujarat. The same is true of the date given by Vanshavali 872, according to which the date of the flight of Bahadur would be in the third week of May. If the two-month period of the stay of Bahadur before the Mughal army be not taken literally, Feb.27,1535 A.D. fits better in this scheme than the other two dates. One copper-plate (Chief Commissioner Office, Udaipur, Register entry no.258: See Appendix U(II)), dated March 28,1536 A.D. also refers to this event on Vikrami tithi Chaitra Krishna 11, the date given in Vanshavalis 872 and 878. Even if this copper-plate were spurious about the grant of land, at least it testifies to the tradition in Mewar about the date of the Saka, which took place on Chaitra Krishna 11, 1591 V.S., i.e., Feb.27,1535 A.D.

(144) Tab.II/49.

(145) ibid.,II/49; Farishta II/126.

(146) Mirat.,p.185; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/229.

(147) Mirat.,p.187.

(148) cf. ibid.,p.187. Rawal Rana ki Vat (leaf 86(a)) gives his name as Bahoaim Khan Balakhi, i.e., Burhanulmulk Bayani.

(149) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a).

(150) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/239.

(151) Tab.III/372,II/49-50; Farishta II/76,IV/126; Akbar Nama I/301.

(152) Tab.II/49-50,III/372; Farishta IV/126. Abul Fazl (I/

301) says that Humayun was at that time at Ujjain, while Mirat.(p.188) holds that he moved from Gwalior. It appears that after or about the time of the fall of Chittor, Humayun moved from Sarangpur to Ujjain, and when Bahadur left Chittor to oppose him, he also proceeded to meet him from Ujjain.

(153) Tab.III/372,616; Al Badaoni I/454; Farishta II/76, IV/126; Gulbadan: Humayun Nama,p.131; Akbar Nama I/301. Mirat.(p.188) purports to say that they met somewhere near Chittor.

(154) Tab.II/50,III/372-73; Farishta II/76,IV/127; Mirat., p.188; Akbar Nama I/302. Abul Fazl adds the name of Taj Khan with Sadr Khan while Farishta does not mention even the name of Sadr Khan.

(155) Tab.III/373.

(156) Mirat.,p.188.

(157) Al Badaoni I/454; Farishta II/76,IV/127;Tab.III/373.

(158) Farishta IV/127; Tab.III/372.

(159) Farishta II/76; Tab.III/373.

(160) Tab.II/51,III/373; Farishta II/76,IV/127; Mirat.,p.188 Al Badaoni I/454; The Arabic History of Gujarat I/240.

(161) Mirat.,p.188; Tab.II/51; Al Badaoni I/454.

(162) Mirat.,p.189; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/232; Akbar Nama (I/303) speaks about the bursting of guns only

(163) Tab.II/51,III/374; Farishta II/76-7,IV/127;Mirat., p.189; Akbar Nama I/303; Al Badaoni I/454.

(164) Al Badaoni I/454.

(165) Pathu Shah ki Bavadi Inscription (Rampura: Pub. Nagari Pracharini Patrika,VII/4),verse 9.

(165a) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/240,249;Akbar Nama I/303.

(165b) Tab.II/51,III/374; Farishta II/77,IV/128.

(166) Mirat.,p.189; Farishta IV/128.

(167) Mirat.,p.1197.

(168) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 87(a)

(169) Nensi (MS), leaf 87(a). This fact is not found in the translation.

(170) A Hur Patra from the collection of Motul Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur. For "Hur Patras" see Tiwari: Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi",IHQ XXX/4/316 n.25.

(171) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 88(a)-(b). For the text of this piece See Appendix W.

(172) Nensi I/53-4.

(173) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a); Vanshavali 872,p.135; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a).

(174) Akbar Nama (I/321) says, "By good luck he (Humayun) came up with them (the followers of Asakari) near Chittor" However, Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.57) holds that this time Humayun entered into the fort.

(175) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 88(b)-89(a).

(176) cf. Tab.III/346.

(177) Rajavali (without pagination).

(178) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(a): See Appendix W.

(179) Rajavali (without pagination).

(180) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(a).

(181) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(b); Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a).

(182) cf. Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(b).

(183) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(b).

(184) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(b); Vanshavali 872,p.135; Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a).

(185) Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a); Rajavali also says that Banavir got Vikramjit killed.

(186) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,p.135; Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a).

(187) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 89(a)-(b).

(188) ibid.,leaf 89(a); Rajavali (without pagination); Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat,leaf 16(b).

(189) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(b).

(190) Rajavali (without pagination); Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(b). Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat (leaf 16(b)) says that it was the foster father of Udai Singh who saved the life of ~~h~~-w his ward by sacrificing his own son.

(191) Rajavali (without pagination); Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(b).

(192) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 89(b)-90(a).

(193) Rajavali (without pagination); Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 92(b).

(194) Mewar ka Aitihas, item 228; Papers from the collection of late Shri Motilalji Shrotriya; Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,p.136.

(195) Vanshavali 828, leaf62(b)~~a~~.Sisod Vanshavali (item 22 gives the round figure of three-quarters and two yrs

(196) Surya Vansha, leaf 51(a).

(197) Vanshavali 828,leaf 63(a); Vanshavali 878,leaf 69(a).

(198) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki ~~Pidhiyaun~~ Khyat, leaf 2(b). The maiden of d/o Rao Ganga was Hai Kumar (Bankedan ki Aitihaskk Vatan, item 118).

(199) Nensi I/55.

~~(200) Pub. Vir Vinod II/55.~~

(201) William Wilfrid Webb: Currencies of Rajputana,p.7.

(202) Journal of Numismatic Society of India XVI/II,pp. 284-85.

(203) Tiwari: A Coin of Maharana Vikramajit of Mewar, ibid, XVIII/I.

(203) Pub. Vi vinod II/55

(204) Vanshavali 872,p.132.

(205) Vanshavali 872,pp.135-36.

(206) Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a).

(207) Surya Vansha, leaf 51(a)

(क्रम)

(कवित विक्रमादीत और उदयसिंह जी का सु कवि रचियता)

सिग्राम रान कीरवान बल अपवान हिदवान थपि
भंज साह महमंद राज ईडर राय भानह
सजी भाला हलवद्द अजाअजमेर सु थानंह
थपकि भारि रणथंभ अली सत सलह सोपर
चंदेरी चक्रसेन बंटिया दल खीची घर
स्याहबाद धंधयां जीगन रिख विक्रम गढ पावा सुरूपि।।१।।
रतन जतन बिन रोख मे रहे रान चहुवान
दस बावन को एक दिन लेखो लाभ लिखान।।२।।
अठयासा पन्द्रह समत (१५८८) विक्रम तखत विराज
चटी रोष ओ चट कुरष कीनो काज अकाज।।३।।
पहलवान पायक प्रबल रिख ढिंग बाना बंध
सरमी भरमी मर सकुचित धरा भार जिन कन्ध।।४।।
मेना घेना तरहटी घेली चले इक दोस
गढते नाहिन उतरे खट रूपी सो।।५।।
गई मुंड वांत अधि अध रात
सुनी साह तांत खुसि फुलि गात
कहे चेन ब्रत सुभट विरत
चित बप्प बेर दीनी दीन फेर
कर काव चूरी भ्रम्यो भीख मुरी
वित पारि लीन कुवान बहीन
कलाही कीन कल काहि दीन
अफस साव जोर परयो बीच धोर
वहर जोय काना दफफ फराना
रही घात घात रही अखी यात
करी सोय कजि पिता बेर लीजे
कीये सद्दसदी मुसद्दी मुसद्दी
ऐते देस थान लिख्यो फुरमान।।६।।

बाणु लाख भीभाड डोडे चमाल बीज जल
खानदेश बराड विग्रह हालार विद्रव थल
गोडवान ओडव स्हाहे सेती भी जाने
धार ऐती धाईये देस आमंद फुरमान
हय गय भु साज पाखर सरस बाल बहादर नर लिये
लख अघ सद निसान नद भेदपाट पर चढीये।।७।।
लखी उकील ने लीडीयो साही भालव दल सुभीय
चितरंगी उपरा विसर निसान सवजीय
कीये कूंच पर कूंच चाय चामल उतरिया
सुनी खबर गढ फजर रान विक्रम सामरिय
कीने नीशान लटतीश सत बाना बंधा बीरद वीय
पखर तुरंग मातंग मद नीमच दस मीलान दीय ।।८।।
जीरन धार मिलान रस सुरताण मिलान
खत खंभ रुपिय जीत बागी जेतान
खमक घोर निशान धाक गिरपाय धरनीय
तमकी तोप छुटीय आग लागी अंगनीय
फोटीय कान सबद हई बान धार लूटिय
ऊठीयो धोम छायो अरन कायर चरन विछुटिय।।९।।
देखत दल दीवण के चल चल अचले पाय
रहे न ढिन को राण के रावत रावल राय।।१०।।
छोटी छोटी मुन्दरी अधिक जा राव सो भी सटके दम्पती राव।।११।।
पानफूल के लेते भोग सो भी सटके राव असोग।।१२।।
घोडू चढी फेरते भाला सो भी सटके सज्जा झाला।।१३।।
बांक कटे को करते डाव सो भी सटके कम्मा राव।।१४।।
भेदपाट के पाट कहाव सो भी सटके आसकन राव ।।१५।।
हाथी चढे राखते बाना सो भी सटके सांगा सुत राना।।१६।।
अनमी कंध के बिद बोलावत सो भी सटके खेता रावत।।१७।।

माडवी चित्रग गंग जीरन धार मंडीय
बदली दल समान रान रन खेत स छंडिय
उसरी कोट गह ओट चोट चहुवे दिस चिनीय
गोरी साह नरेष जेनदिन अठ स किनिय
दलदली द्रग चल चल अचल दहली बीक उतरी सढीय
धारी छत्र बीरद सिर बाधिके कामेती साक चढीय।।१८।।
राघो सत्रसाल दूस सो प्रोहित देवी दास
बरछिन उपर कूदिके कीनो जुध बजास।।१९।।
त्रीय सहस तिन सुर वाय मै कुंप अनंत परीय
मा बीकम मंत्रवी कीन साको खगन जुरि
सत सहस्त्र कर सुभट विकट भट्ट थट स चंडीय
पहर तीन लारे प्रले सिरे चित्रकोट समन्डीय
उडि बोम धोम छायो अरन रत धारती चल उतरीय
बहेलिय बुलखी रख्खी गढ बाहादुर भांड फरिय।।२०।।
राम पोल जलाल रहे नाथावत रखिय
सगर चोर आमली सूर सूरज कीय रखीय
सिंघ सजा सिर बलु राम तेह ठाम सर ढीय
धंधेर्या रनधीर धारपति धीर स बढिय
डोडिया मान असमान अरि मदारा जंगन जुरीय
अजन खोह की बुरज उडी खेत खीह खंगु खिरीय।।२१।।
बंको गढ चितोर को सुन्यो हमाऊ कान्ह
वचन चित समारी के कीयो निसान निसान।।२२।।
बंगाले की विजय हक कीनीय हमाऊ
असी सहस ऐहाक बंदी मलव सिर धाउ
असी सहस के सत सहंस मद गलत मिलत चतुरंग सपीलिय
कीये कूंच पर कूंच मुगल पठानो मिलिय
चो दिवस जुध बिरुध हुव रवबरीन व्हे जीनत मरत
निस जुमा साहि मालव गदयो पंच सहंस मीरड परत।।२३।।

गह लीनो सुलतान साहि मालव ढिलीय पति
सो बीतग बतयो ज्योही चीतोर पेहल बित
सब समाज गह बात जिहाज भरि दरिया बोरीय
भगज बंध दुरगंध बिधुरि विलासी जोरीय
काली बलाय सोबे सरखी भेदपाट दिस कूच कीय
विक्रम बुलाय बोहो दीहते छत्र तखत चितोर दिया।।२४।।
गोढि ढिलि ढिलेस रान विक्रम गढ राजेह
भेद पाट महिदी दीप सातु जस छाजेह
अह अलक हनि बंक सेंक बिन गढ मोशि लेह
हास विलास हुलास तरक नव नवीस चलह
चहुवान पोवार बदलिके हनी विक्रम बनबीर ढली
छल बल करे उदय कढयो मद पाट दलेस भमी।।२५।।
धरी छवरा पतरा दबटी दीनो कोट निकार
पूठि [illegible] लग्गी वे लीनो वन्दी समार।।२६।।
दे बदले सुत आपको उछल काढि [illegible] अछग्गा
धन धन हीयोस धाय को सम धरम के भग्गा ।।२७।।
सिंघ गयो सिठाय गिरपुर आसकरन
माखर पाय न गाहि वढि सिर कुंभगिरतं
मिल्यो नाह नर नाह ताह पानी मुख दिख
स्याम धरम कुछ करम सरम छित्रवट की रखं
कस बाब नेक पायर बनि सुभर वचन मंजन करेहे
देपुरा घरां दीवान की आन सबै गढ मे फीरीय॥२८।।
बरस पंच पर पंच
गने गने गढने नंगर गृह चरया येम चव
सुनि खबर चितोर चित बनवीर विचारे
कुंरि व्याय दल गहि गढते पनक नीकारे
मेवाद निपट मंडे कपट बट खोटी गहेई
हनी मृत उमे कर आप दिग कोचही कहेई।।२९।।

संहस अघ नाकिह डोढ से असी खखार
पटनते चितोर सथ गोलचा हजार
चढि आये जालोर पुरी नारद उतरीय
भेलि सथ सम सथ देवसुरी जुद्ध करीय
चहुवान चोड चालक सीधल बालिसा समरीय
दे खबरी कुंप मारु कटक सानिग धान वल जीय।।३०।।
चढे ~~खबरी~~ उदेसी रान खान साई दास जगा मिल
सांगा सांवत सोढ दूजा आसा सुजा भल
कुंप अंखा पृथ्वीराज करन जेता लूणकन
मुंदे सुर भुरधारा मिले नाडोल उदे दिन
करम सीह चारन कवि जालोर राय सथह दिनह
मिलि वीर मेवार यत बनवीर हंत जंगह किनह।।३१।।
छूटि बान कुबानचमकी किरबान चमाचम
धमकी बरछी नधान भलक जवान गमागम
करक कायर नवार पार खंचर पंचर पर
मदन सीह महापाल तुहि तिल तलटी धरनी पर
सय तीन मृत सथह परग परिग अधिप रह धारे
गुलवार करी जे पाल तन करीन कोय ऐसी करे।।३२।।
बंटन अघ दोई सथ तिया ऐस तीखन
कंम्भ गिरा भुर धारा बानी पेचान वचन छीन
बंटि लियो धान अघ दीघ नालेर ने सथे
तुरंग सुरंग खरवार कुंवरि कमला न सथे
करि ब्याह बाजि नो बति बदति मंडप रच पाली सुधार
चढि लेह चीतोर गढ चढि आवे ईन ढीलन करीर।।३३।।
मिलि मारु मेवार बीस हजार बहादर
माहोली वरीयाम राम चालक बीरबर
तोवर कोवर सिग सेहस दस सजे बिकट
करि हक चक उदोत मे अकबक लग्गे अरस
छ छोह छीछल के छयल पहल किलो कीनो सरस।।३४।।

परिशिष्ट(T)

बालक पग नही चल्यो खगधार छिनाछिन
तोंवर कटि धार मिल्यो मिल्ये दल भीर जिन
जुरे मे के भिरे फरि नह सत असतह
फतेपाय उदेसीह जीती उमा पर विजय
बजे नीसान खुमान जे सुत सीग्राम गरजीयो
ऊगीयो अकच पहूं पृथ्वी सिर अरि तिमिर भर भजयो।।३५।।
चिरत यक धार दिस्ट ईन्द मुदयो नैनन किय
तुरीय मगह बहे वसम उतावरो धाये
कनक बरन कजेर सिघ स्यारन संग पावे
भनिराय साहि संग्राम सुव उदयस्यंघ दुजन दवन
भृंगम,भुयंग ,हरि,हंस,ससि,पंच यक कारन कवन।।३६।।
भंजि भला तिन जुद्ध गाहि ताणो हे पाय
देशपति गणपति पृथीसह लागी पाय
तीस सहस असवार फर पेदल अपार
चित्रकोट दिस चलेही सज मघ वाघन सार
कुंजर पति बद्ध भंति वनि खहन सेह असि खुहि खुर
संग्राम सुतन कविराय भनि,छत्र चंवर सोभाय सिर।।३७।।
सभिक आयो खि रान गयो बणवीर उतरी गढ
अवधिपुरी अवधेस बीजेयम बुरधस तखत मंडि
गया घूमरी निसान हर पटी न सींगारेह
पोरि पोरी तोरनन कलस विवद वधु वसन संवारे
जय हेम पुनि वोहो दान वद्ध कवि सजन मोटेस करि
सीग्राम सुव कविराय भनि उदयस्यंघ चित्रंग वर।।३८।।
गाजि वीर बनवीर मीरमीरा खां सजीय
बंदेरी जालोर सिव चंपा गण संघीय
रिन थम्भोर अजेय सेव सेवे गज बंधीय
भनि राय रान सीग्राम सुव खग्ग पोन असुरान हवि
उग्यो चित्र सिर छत्र पति उदयसिह हिन्दवान रवि।।३९।।

:संपूर्ण:

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ,उदयपुर

परिशिष्ट (क)

:: संपूर्ण ::

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर।

वक्ता: आशिया सावल दान जी चारण कवि।

नोट:

इस कवित के और भी २ निम्नलिखित पद स्व. श्री मोती लाल जी श्रोत्रिय एम. ए. के संग्रह से प्राप्त हुवे है।

तुरी तेज परहरई कमल मुकलित मय ऊतह
गयन इन्हु उगमव ईस विलखान चितमंह
सिघ किमे दुमना गिद्ध मय चंचन मिलई
हिरन डंग दुबला काग कलियल फुलई
मनि राय रान संग्राम सुव उदयसंघ विवतनयन।।१।।

जुते जुरिग जुमान सूर सामंत हनिगरिन
तिधार धारनि धुकि परिग इंस संगुहिग सीस खिन
जक ले गुंथय माल चंद हरहर हंसि मह
अमी बूंद कर परिग भरम ऊपज्यउ ऐक तहां
मनि राय रान संग्राम सुव उदय संघ असि रस रवन
अहि गंग गवरी विदुरि वलय हर विलसि कारन कवन।।२।।

Appendix 'U' (I) :

वीकम राणा आलोच कीध, वेराव वाघ फरमाण दीध
चीतौड माह चीतौड राण कीधा अुछाह छात्रीश वंश
दल कोट शानवज वाघ राण, मलावी लाज .....
बोपे वाघ हाथल अुमार, चीतौड कोट मेा कण्ड हान
पुह वाघ ताणा शाथल वचन्न , गयणाग, विलागेा राण मन्न
मेवाड राण अुर धरि अमस ,पर छेव वाघ सेणाधिपत
मेघाण अुमर शिर छरि छात, पांधत वा मन्न मानव मात

.. योगिराज विरचित 'हरि पिंगल प्रबंध '

(आशिया श्रीसावलदानजी चारण कवि, अुदमपुर, की कृपा से प्राप्त)

Appendix 'U' (II) :

श्रीरामः ।।

।। सिधि श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।।
।। श्रीअेकलिंग प्रसादादात् ।।

माला
सही

लाअीन १ ... ।। महराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री वि
.. २ ... ।। क्रमादितजी आअी श्री करमेती हाडी
.. ३ ... ।। जा बोहर पैरता हुअे १ अेक अुदकरी
.. ४ ... ।। दीध १ तिवाडी ठाकर नेा नाति गुज -
.. ५ ... ।। र गौड गुनारडया ने दीधेा दूवा अित पं
.. ६ ... ।। चाली जेसंघ प्रति दूवे श्रीराणी करमे -
.. ७ ... ।। ती बाअी अहजूरी । धरती हुअे अेक री
.. ८ ... ।। पुर माहे दीधी ।। श्लेक ।। स्वदत्तं परदत्तं
.. ९ ... ।। वा ।। ज्यो हसंति वसुधरा ।। षष्टि वस सह -
.. १० ... ।। भाणि विष्टयां जायते क्रिमः ।। १

...

Appendix V (II):(Contd...)

लाअीन ११ ... ।। संवतं १५९२ वर्षे चैत्र मासे क्रश्न पणे अे
,, १२ ... ।। कादशी बुधवारे चित्रकोट माहे
,, १३ ... ।। दीधे ।। सुभं भवत् ।।

(नोट - चैत्र कृष्णा ११, १५९२ वि. को. शनिवार था बुधवार नही)

Appendix V

'' सवत् १५९१ जेठ सुद २ रे दिन (~~विक्र~~ विक्रमादित)चीतोड बसाअी
।।३३ ।।

.. पं. नाथूलालजी व्यास ,अुदयपुर,के संग्रह से प्राप्त.

Apprndix 'W' :

''पातिसाह हमाअु मांडुरी फत्ते करने अुठे थाणो घेलेने मुगला है मेले आप चितोड चढया । ने गढ सारो ही देख्यो देखने कह्यो राणा कहा है जदी खबर कराअी भाट पदमसाह अरज कीधी सो हजरत सलामत दीवाणजी तो बुंदी है जदी बूंदी थी दीवाणजी न अुरा बुलाया राणा विक्रमादितजी है तरवार बंधाअी । गढ मे पाछा गादी बैठाया । देस मे अमल कराये ने बादशाह पाछा दली गया । तठा पछे फैरेने विक्रमादितजी असी टगी पकडी सो रजपूता सुं मसफरी ठेकरी गाडी । रावत खॉनरा माथां अुपरे नारदो छोडायो । मूत स भराअे मेलतो थो ने दरीखाने बैठा करमचंदजी पुवार रे नीक अुरे टपोरला री दीदी । जदी करमचंदजी चमके- अुठया । जदी खान रावत बोल्या ठाकरां फुल सुंग्या । जद करमचंदजी बोल्या सो फुलतो सुंग्या पिणवा सकाले आवसी । अुत्तरे कहे ने दरीखाने थी अुठे बैठा हुवा ने वर्णवीर सु कागल बाअी कीधी । कागला मील्या जदी वणवीर कह्यो सो ठाकुरा आवतं वडी है नी आप मोहे जाणो हो हू खवासण रो हूं जदी करमचंदजि बोल्या मे करागा ज्यो सरे हुवेगा या थाप कीधो ''

.. रावल राणा की वात पत्र ८८ अ -८९ ब.

This offended Ratansi. However, Vanshavali 872[176] and Vanshavali 878[177] hold that an offer to marry his dau-ghter to Rana Ratansi was made by Raja Prithviraj Kachhawaha. The Rana sent his sword as his proxy for marrying the girl. Incensed, Prithviraj returned the sword and gave the girl in marriage to Surajmal. Rana Ratansi felt offended and decided to put an end to the life of his competitor. All these accounts are incorrect. Surajmal did not marry any fiancee of Ratansi. Ratansi had Raj Kumar (d/o Prithviraj Kachhawaha) for his wife.[178] The Vansha-bhaskar says that Ratansi and Surajmal Hada were both married to the different daughters of Sarangadas of Srinagar. Once Ratansi and Surajmal happened to go to their father-in-law. Ratansi suspected illicit relations between his wife and Surajmal on the occasion of a tiger-hunt[179] arranged by their mother-in-law.

As regards the circumstances leading to the open repture between Ratansi and Surajmal, the Vansha-bhaskar blames Puranmal Purbia, the prime-minister of Mewar. Rao Narayandas, the father of Surajmal, had killed Dikku, the father of Puranmal, on account of his frivolously putting a straw piece in the beard of the Rao while he was dozing under the influence of opium. So an inveterate enmity existed between these two families. It was at the instance of Puranmal that the Rana sent very meagre gifts at the time of the accession of Surajmal, which the latter had reluntantly accepted at the instance of his mother. To avenge the death of his father, Puranmal Purbia planned the assassination of Puranmal, the brother of

Surajmal Hada[180], at Hindoli[181]. The attempt failed and the hired assassins were pursued. They found shelter in the fort of Shaprapur, a fort within the territories on Mewar near the borders of Bundi. Surajmal, on learning about this, pursued them, and on demanded their surrender from the commandant of that fort. It was refused and the assassins proceeded to Chittor[181]. Surajmal performed the Tikador ceremony on that very fort. Puranmal Purbia poisoned the ears of the Rana about this attack. A sharp letter from the Rana to Surajmal was despatched. The mother of the Rao happened to receive it. Surajmal could not know anything about it. So the letter remained unreplied. This added fur--ther fuel to the anger of the Rana whose anger now refused to be propitiated by anything less than the blood of the adversary.[182]

Muhnot Nensi says that to end the quarrel Surajmal gifted away the elephant Meghnad and the horse Lallashkar, which were demanded by Ratansi, to one bard Bhan Misana by name, who later on met Ratansi in Mewar. Bhan praised Surajmal highly in the presence of the Rana and ended his eulogy with a prophesy of sure defeat for the enemy of the Rao.[183] On being asked the bard further related the story of the gift of the disputed horse and elephant. The Rana was infuriated . He expelled the bard from Mewar and asked him to go to Bundi.[184]

The real cause of the enmity between Ratansi and Surajmal, as revealed by Dalpat Vijay, possibly, lay in the presumption of the latter in arrogating to himself some airs of independence.[185] And, as suspected by

Nensi,[186] there were no love lost between the two since the appointment of Surajmal as the commandant of the fort of Ranthambhor by Sanga, ~~during the minority of~~ deputizing for Vikramajjit and Udai Singh. So not the marriage of Suraj-mal Hada with the fiancee of Ratansi nor his help to Karmeti in negotiating with Babar but the independent atti-tude of Surajmal and the question of returning of horse Lal-lashkar and elephand Meghnad embittered their relations. The mechanism of Puranmal Purbia and the gift of the dis-puted animals to bard Bhan by Puranmal carried the fri-ction beyond the scope of any compromise. Ratansi made for Bundi soon after his meeting with Bhan, accompanied by Renakumar d/o Parmar Karamchand.[187]

Death of Ratansi

When the Rana reached the borders of Bundi he sent heralds to Surajmal announcing his approach and summoned him. Surajmal, who knew the mind of the Rana since long, hesitated but his suspicion was disarmed by the mother Khetu. Surajmal presented himself before the Rana. Both met at Gokarna Tirth on the borders of Mewar and Bundi. The meeting was affectionate. The Rana called Surajmal ' Suraj Bhai' and showed him his newly purchased elephant. Surajmal rode before the Rana on a horse and Ratansi was on the elephant. At one place the elephant attacked the Hada prince but the latter avoided it. But the Rana placated Surajmal by sweet words and both returned to their camps. Two days after the Rana proposed a boar hunt. The Rana told his wife about the expected hunt of a feroc-ious lone boar. Next day the Rani entreated Ratansi to

give up the mad intention of attacking Surajmal and told him that it ~~may~~ might not be an easy job. However, the Rana did not listen. Next day while hunting ~~it~~ in the jungle, all the followers being left behind, only Puranmal, Ratansi, Surajmal and a barber were left under a tree.[188] Puranmal, commissioned to attack the Hada, failed to strike, so the Rana struck Surajmal from behind.[189] This sliced away a part of head of the Rao. The attack was unexpected and fatal.[190] In order to finish off the victim Puranmal also struck and cut Surajmal's thigh. Surajmal collected his wits and returned the attack. Puranmal fell down shouting for help. The Rana advanced near Surajmal and delivered another blow. Surajmal left Puranmal and with dagger in hand jumped and struck the Rana, then bent for striking the Rao. The dagger, fixed near the base of his neck, reached through his abdomen down upto the naval. The Rana bled profusely and asked for water . Surajmal refused to oblige him and the Rana died in extreme agony of pain and thirst.[191] Surajmal also died instantaneously.[192]

The Rana and the Rao both died at Kinvajane.[193] It is wrongly reported that Sura Solanki, Mala Solanki and Ashokamal Pawar ~~and Puranmal Purbia~~ also met their deaths at the hands of Surajmal, along with the Rana.[193a] The news of the death of the Rao and the Rana was carried to Bundi. This excited the Hada to revenge blood of Surajmal; they fell upon the retinue of Ratansi and put them all to flight.[194] Ratansi was cremated near Bundi[195]

<u>The Date of the Death of Ratansi</u>:

The task of determination of the date of the death

of Ratansi is rendered very complicated by the lumping by the annalists of the period of his administration during the life-time of Sanga with the period of his actual reign after the death of Sanga. Ratansi's de facto rule started 10 months and 29 days before the death of Sanga. Sanga died on May, 19, 1528 A.D. during its continuation at Basuwa. So it is not unnatural to expect some auth--orities to lump this period with that of his reigh. However, others excluded it also.

The maximum duration of the reign of Ratansi is to be found in Vanshavali 872 as 5 years 4 months and 6 days[196]. Amar-kavya gives the minimum: 3 years.[197] If the view of Vanshavali 872 is accepted, Ratansi's death will be supposed to have taken place in Nov. 1533 A.D. However, we know from the Muslim chroniclers that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had made treaty with Vikramjit, the bro--ther and successor of Ratansi (March, 23, 1533 A.D.[198]). So Ratansi must have died earlier. Similarly, the three years reign attributed to Ratansi by Amar Kavya cannot be accepted. In this case Ratansi will be regarded to have died in 1531 A.D. and his successor, whose maximum period of reign does not extend beyond 2 years, 9 months and 8 days would be regarded to have died in 1533-4 A.D.. As such the Second Saka of Chittor (March, 8, 1535 A.D.[199]) would be presumed to have occurred in the reign of Banvir, which is not true.

Then what is the actual period of the reign of Ratansi? Out of the remaining figures about the duration of the reign of Ratansi except Vanshavali 828[200] which gives

4 years, 4 months and 5 days the remaining ones give either 4 years, 5 months and 7 days[201], or 4 years 5 months and 1 day[202] or 4 years, 5 months and 0 day[203] or its variant 4 years, 0 month and 5 days[204]. As the majority of these Vanshavalis are giving the variants of 4 years 5 months and 7 days (7, 1, 0[205] are convertibles) we can accept 4 years 5 months and 7 days as the correct figures which got modified later into 5 years 5 months and one day, and 4 years, 5 months and 0 day, due to scribe's mistakes. By adding 4 years, 5 months and 7 days to Jaishta Sukla 1, 1585 V.S.(May, 19,1528 A.D.) we get Kartika Sukla 8, 1589 V.S.(= Tuesday, November 5, 1532 A.D.) as the date of the assassination of Rana Ratansi at Kivajana in Bundi.Ratansi assumed the admini-stration of Mewar on Saturday, June, 1,1527 A. D.(or due to intercallory month on Sunday, June 30,1527 A.D.), ascended the throne on May, 19, 1528 A.D., and died on Tuesday, November, 5, 1532 A.D.

Character and Estimate of Ratansi

Ratansi was an energetic, aggressive and hard-boied but proud, emotional and an impatient youngman. He was astute and compromising sometimes when he saw the situation going out of his control. But vindictiveness and callousness governed him about the end of his life. In his sentimental flights he refused to close the gates of Chittor and bosted that Malwa, Mandovar, Gujarat, Patan, Marwar and Delhi were the gates of Chittor[206]. Though he succeeded in persuading Bahadur to give half of

Wagad of Rawal Jagmal, his armed intervention on behalf of Silhadi proved a bitter experience. The army of Mewar was chased upto the gates of Chittor and his successor had to pay the penalty for his rashness. He, similarly, failed to arrest the fissiparous tendencies in Rajputana. But here he was not to be blamed. It was an out-come of the political structure of Rajputana in those days. The manner in which Ratansi attempted on the life of Surajmal brought about his own death and plunged Mewar inton - anarchy. In short, Ratansi though ~~brave and capable~~ unscrupulous and passion-blind, was brave and capable; and, as Khuman Raso says, Mewar was respected among the crown-heads of Rajputana during his reign.[207]

Ratansi's family:

Ratansi had several wives and five concubines[208]. The names of only four wives have come down to us. They are:-[209]

(a) Rena Kumar Pawar, d/o Karamchand Pawar of Sri--nagar

(b) Ratan Kumar, d/o Ram Singh Sankhala

(c) Kunwar Bai, d/o Rao Narayandas Hada of Bundi

(d) Ray Kumar, d/o Raja Prithviraj Kachwaha of Ambar.

Out of these four, the first went along with Ratansi when he went on that fetal hunting expedition to Bundi; and she immolated herself on his pyre.[210] The third was in Bundi at the time of his death because she immolated herself in Bundi.[211] We do not know anything about the ~~death or knowing about the~~ ~~deaths of Ra~~

whereabouts of the second though she also burnt herself to death on hearing about the demise of Ratansi.[211] The fourth did not embrace death as her name has not mentioned in the list of the Satis.[211] None of these wives bore any issue to him.

Coins and Inscriptions of Ratansi

No coin of Ratansi has been so far discovered. Only one inscription of his reign has come down to us from Palitana (Gujarat). It refers to the seventh repairs of the Shatrunjaya Tirtha Temple by his chief minister Karam Singh.[212]

Army of Mewar Under Ratansi:

The Vanshavalis give such a conflicting report about the army of Mewar that it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion about it.[213] Still it might be said that 40,000 cavalry,[214] about 17,000 infantry,[215] about 300 elephants[216] and 300 drummers[217] comprised the army of Mewar under Ratansi.

Charities of Ratani

Ratansi gave 5 cows and 5 tolas gold, besides feeding 50 Brahmins, daily. This total charity is esti-mated at 5 villages, 3 elephants, 300 horses and 11,000 cows.[218]

FOOTNOTES

(1) Nensi I/46-8,108-9. Dr. Gopinath (Mewar and the Mughal Emperors,p.47) calls this the "tutelege" of the princes to Surjan, which is incorrect.

(2) ibid.,I/50.

(3) ibid.,I/109-10.

(4) Memoirs II/341.

(5) Nensi I/110.

(6) This "Ashuk" does not appear to be Rao Ashokamal of Mandaur Inscription (See Appendix I (II)).

(7) She was the daughter of Sanga, given in marriage to Rao Ganga of Marwar. After Ganga's death she was dissuaded from immolating herself and later on she perished in II Saka of Chittor in 1535 A.D. (Rathoran ri Vanshavali ri Khyat, leaf 39(a)).

(8) Vir Vinod II/7; Oza: Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, I/389; Munshi Devi Prashad: Maharana Ratansinghji, p.44; Dr. Gopinath, op. cit.,p.47.

(9) Memoirs II/341.

(10) cf. ibid.,II/334.

(11) ibid.,II/341. Munshi Deviprashad (op. cit.,p.63) wrongly holds that these negotiations were conducted by Rana Ratansi.

(12) Babar reached Gwalior on Sept.26 (ibid.,II/336).

(13) ibid.,II/341. The demand for Biana in exchange for Ranthambhor is an additional proof of the fact that it was captured by the Mughals before Sept.1528 A.D. (cf. Appendix M).

(14) ibid.,II/341-42.

(15) Memoirs (Beveridge Tr.), Translator's note, II/615 n.2.

(16) ibid (Beveriege Tr.),II/617. Leyden and Erskine (II/345) have translated these words as "first" and "last".

(17) cf. ibid (Leyden and Erskine Tr.),II/342 and Beveridge Tr. II/615 n.2.

(18) ibid (Beveridge Tr.),II/615 n.2.

(19) ibid.,II/616.

(20) ibid.,II/620.

(21) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaves 80(b)-81(a). It begins by saying that Padam Shah Bhat went to Delhi on the pretext of carrying "Rakhi" to Humayun and ends by saying that Padma Shah actually tied the "Rakhi" to Humayun's wrist. It further adds that Humayun granted Ranthambhor to Karmeti and that all this happened in 1523 A.D. (1580 V.S.) when Sanga died and Humayun was ruling. Karmeti, according to this authority, was then bearing Udai Singh in the sixth month of pregnancy. For the text of this piece See Appendix N. Vir Vinod (II/5-7) follows it.

(22) The fort was Ranthambhor was lost by the Sisodias to Bahadur Shah in 1535 A.D. (Mirat-i Sikandari,p.180).

(23) Mirat.,p.172-73; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224.

(24) cf. Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a).

(25) Tab. III/333-40; Farishta IV/103-7; Mirat.,pp.151-57; The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/140,142.

(26) Mirat.,pp.160-1; Tab. III/135,344-45; Farishta IV/109; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/151.

(27) Mirat.,pp.161-62; Farishta IV/110-11; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/151-52.

(28) Mirat.,p.162.

(29) ibid.,p.162; Tab. III/346; Farishta IV/110.

(30) Tab. (III/346) calls him Bahrun, Farishta (IV/110) and Mirat.(p.162), Prithviraj. However, his identity is undisputed from the other clues given in Tab. and Farishta.

(31) Tab. III/346.

(32) ibid.,III/346; Farishta IV/110.

(33) Mirat.,p.162.

(34) ibid.,p.162; Tab. III/346.

(35) Mirat.,p.163.

(36) ibid.,pp.163-64.

(37) See Ch.IV n.65 above.

(38) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 31.

(39) Memoirs II/306.

(40) Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaves 35-37. Man Bharti was returning from Ujjain with his wounded followers after a clash with Vairagis on the banks of Kshipra (leaves 32-33).

(41) Oza: Banswada Rajya ka Itihas, p.14.

(42) Nensi I/58 n.1.

(43) ibid,I/58 n.1. Dungarpur ki Khyat (leaves 37-9) says that it was Rana Sanga who divided Wagad between Prithviraj and Jagmal.

(44) ibid, I/58.

(45) Mirat.,p.164; Tab. III/347-48; Farishta IV/112.

(46) Mirat. (p.164) calls him Prithviraj while Tab. (III/348) and Farishta (IV/112) call him Paras Ram.

(47) Tab. III/348.

(48) ibid.,III/348; Mirat.,p.164; Farishta IV/112.

(49) Tab. III/348; Farishta IV/112. Jagmal's wife was sister of the wife of Sanga (Dungarpur ki Khyat,p. leaf 36).

(50) Tab. III/349; Farishta IV/113; Mirat.,p.164.

(51) Their names were Dungarsi and Jajarsi (Mirat.,p.164). Farishta (IV/112) mentions only one messanger. Dungar-Singh was the natural son of Sanga (Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a), Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 2(a)).

(52) Mirat.,p.164.

(53) ibid.,p.164; Tab. III/349; Farishta IV/112.

(54) Mirat.,p.164. Mirat. calls this present a "tribute".

(55) Tab. III/349.

(56) ibid.,III/349; Farishta IV/112; Mirat.,p.165.

(57) Mirat.,p.164-65.

(58) ibid.,p.165; Tab. III/350.

(59) Tab. III/350; Mirat.,p.165; Farishta IV/113,266. Farishta calls Sikandar Khan as Moyin Khan s/o Sikandar Khan.

(60) Mirat.,p.165.

(61) ibid.,p.165; Tab. III/350; Farishta IV/266.

(62) Farishta IV/266; Mirat.,p.165.

(63) Tab. III/349-50; Mirat.,p.165.

(64) Tab. III/350.

(65) Mirat.,p.165; Tab. III/350. On p.610 Tab. says that Mahmud had marched from Ujjain to Satangpur to oppose Ratansi.

(66) Mirat.,p.165. Bailey (p.349) does not mention it. Tab. (III/359), in stead of Sambal, gives Silpa and adds one more town of Balwad.

(67) Farishta IV/113.

(68) ibid.,IV/114; Tab. III/352,619; Mirat.,p.166.

(69) Chand Khan was left by Bahadur in Chittor in 1526 A.D. (Tab.III/330; Farishta IV/120).He might have left Chittor after the death of Sanga (See Mirat., p.150).

(70) Tab.III/610; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/195.

(71) Epi. Indica, II/42-47.

(72) Tab. III/350; Mirat.,p.165. Farishta (IV/113) says that Silhadi fled to Chittor and his son Bhupat joined Bahadur Shah.

(73) cf. Tab. III/349.

(74) ibid.,III/350.

(75) ibid.,III/350; Farishta IV/113; Mirat.,p.165.

(76) Only Mirat. (p.165) mentions this name.

(77) ibid.,p.165. Tab. III/350; Farishta IV/113.

(78) Tab. III/351; Farishta IV/113; Mirat.,p.165. Tab. further adds that Bahadur Shah promised not to give refuge to the fugitives ~~fom~~ from the court of Mandu if the Sultan came to meet as stipulated.

(79) Tab. III/351; Farishta IV/114; Mirat.,p.165.

(80) Tab. III/351. Mirat. (p.165) holds that these were bestowed at the time of the meeting while, according to Farishta,(IV/114) at the time of parting.

(81) Farishta IV/114. Tab. (III/351) holds that Silhadi "elected to enter Sultan's ~~x~~services". However, Mirat

(p.165) says that Silhadi "went in the retinue of of the Sultan".

(82) Mirat.,p.165.

(83) ibid.,p.166; Tab.III/351-52; Farishta IV/114.

(84) Farishta (II/64) gives Dec.25 and Gulbadan Begam (Humayun Nama,p.109) gives Dec.26,1530 A.D.

(85) Tab.II/42-44.

(86) Mirat.,p.166.

(87) cf. ibid.,p.165.

(88),ibid.,p.167. Tab.(III/353) and Farishta (IV/115) say that it was March 29,1531 A.D.

(89) Tab. III/354,613. Mirat. (p.167) says that Mahmud "begged for favour and forgiveness".

(90) Tab. III/354,613.

(91) He and his sons were given to Iqbal Khan and Asaf Khan for being carried to Gujarat, according to Mirat.(p.167)

(92) Farishta IV/115.

(93) Mirat.,p.168. Farishta (IV/270) puts Sarangpur and Ujjain along with Raisin and says that because Silhadi was first to submit to Bahadur, he was entrusted with the administration of these districts.

(94) When Bahadur Shah left for Burhanpur from Mandu, Bhupat was also along with him (Tab.III/~~614~~ 355,615). The intentions of Bahadur Shah were to strengthen his forces for the contest with Humayun (Farishta IV/116)

(95) Farishta IV/117.

(96) Tab.III/355; Farishta IV/117. Humayun was at this time busy with the eastern Afgans (Farishta (II/46-6; Al Badaoni I/452). So Bahadur wanted to

his strengthen his own position in Malwa before the Mughals were free from their eastern engagement. Hence, he returned to Mandu and sent Maqbal Khan to Champaner to guard the fort and despatch Ikhtiyar Khan with artillery, troops and treasure. Ikhtiyar Khan joined Bahadur Shah at Dhar on Dec.1,1531 A.D. To dupe Silhadi, Bahadur annuonced falsely his intention of returning to Gujarat (Tab.III/355) and encamped at Nalcha (Ibid.,III/356).

(97) It was at Malcha that the true nature of things became clear to Bhupat (Tab.III/356; Mirat.,p.170). Bahadur moved from Malcha to Sadulpur via Dipalpur and Banharia. This made Silhadi submit believing that Bahadur was returning to Gujarat (Mirat.,p.170). But Farishta (IV/117) says that Silhadi fled to Raisin. Mirat.(p.170) says that Silhadi left his son Bhupat at Ujjain when he came to Bahadur.

(98) Tab. III/356; Farishta IV/117; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/223.

(99) Tab.III/357.

(100) ibid.,III/357; Mirat.,p.171; Farishta IV/118.

(101) Mirat.,p.171.

(102) Tab. III/357.

(103) ibid .,III/357; Farishta IV/117.

(104) Farishta IV/118; Tab.III/357.

(105) Farishta IV/118.

(106) Tab.III/616; Mirat.,p.171.

(107) Tab.III/357; Mirat.,p.171; Farishta IV/118.

(108) Tab.III/357-56,616.

(109) Mirat.,p.171.

(110) Tab.III/358.

(111) ibid.,III/358-59; Mirat.,p.171.

(112) Mirat.,p.171. Tab.(III/359) gives Dec.17 for Bahadur Shah's reaching at Raisin, which is incorrect.

(113) Tab.III/359; Farishta IV/118; Mirat.p,171.

(114) Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/360,616; Farishta IV/119; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/223.

(115) Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/360; Farishta IV/118; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224. The view of The Cam. Hist.(III/328) that Silhadi "feigned to accept Islam", though entertaining,is unsupported by any reliable evidence.

(116) Tab.III/360.

(117) ibid.,III/360-1; Farishta IV/119. Mirat.(p.172) says that Lakhmansingh was called from the fort to the camp of the Sultan and there both the brothers met and discussed.

(118) Farishta IV/120; Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/361.

(119) Tab.III/361; Farishta IV/120; Mirat.,p.172.

(120) Farishta IV/120.

(121) ibid.,IV/120; Tab.III/361-62. Farishta gives the name of Ikhtiyar Khan instead of Burhanulmulk.

(122) Tab.III/361; Farishta IV/119; Mirat.,p.172.

(123) Mirat.,p.172.

(124) ibid.,p.172; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224. Because of Vikramjit being the successor of Ratansi he is called the son of the Ratansi. See Appendix O.

(125) Mirat.,p.173; Tab.III/362. Farishta (IV/121) does not mention the Rana or his son.

(126) Mirat.,p.173; Tab.III/362; Farishta IV/121.

(127) Tab.III/362.

(128) ibid.,III/362; Mirat.,p.173. Mirat. calls it Kharad.

(129) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173; Farishta IV/121. Some Purbia Rajputs were taken prisoners (Tab.III/363).

(130) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173.

(131) Tab.III/363.

(132) Mirat.,p.173; Tab(III/363) says that Bahadur reached in the neighbourhood of Kharad and the army was following him.

(133) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173.

(134) Tab.III/363; Mirat.,p.173. Mirat. does not mention their number.

(135) Mirat.,p.173. Tab. (III/363-64) says that the Rana sent a message to Bahadur through these agents that he had come personally to intercede for Silhadi.

(136) Mirat.,p.173.

(137) ibid.,p.173; Tab.III/364.

(138) Mirat.,p.173.

(139) ibid.,p.173; Tab. III/364.

(140) Tab.III/364; Mirat.,p.173-74. Farishta (IV/121) ~~does not say the~~ ~~does not say that the Sultan reached Chittor.~~ says that it consisted of 30,000 horse.

(141) Tab.III/364; Mirat.,p.174.

(142) Mirat.,p.174. Farishta (IV/121) does not say that the Sultan reached Chittor.

(143) ibid.,p.174; Tab.III/365; Farishta IV/121.

(144) Vanshavali 872,p.130; Vanshavali 878, leaf 67(a).

(145) Tab.III/365. Mirat.(p.174) speaks about the ~~calling~~ month only. ~~of Silhadi and no other condition.~~

(146) ibid,III/365; Mirat.,p.174. His despair was partly

born out of the bombardment of Rami Khan's artillery (The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/224).

(147) Tab.III/365. Mirat.(p.174) speaks about the calling of Silhadi and no other condition.

(148) ibid.,III/365. Mirat.(p.174) does not mention the name of Burhanulmulk.

(149) ibid.,III/365; Mirat.,p.174.

(150) Tab.III/365.

(151) ibid.,III/365-66; Farishta IV/122. Mirat.(p.174) speaks about 7-8,000 ladies in the seraglio of Silhadi.

(152) The people enquired as to what Silhadi received in exchange for the fort of Raisin and Silhadi told that for the time being Baroda was fixed as their residence and in future he expected something better (Tab.III/366). Mirat.(p.174) says that the district of Baroda was bestowed upon him.

(153) Tab.III/366. Mirat.(p.174) says that it were the followers of Silhadi who asked Silhadi questions and jeered at him. Tab.(III/366) says that the advice to perform Jauhar came from Durgavati. Farishta (IV/122) says that Durgavati repraoched both Silhadi and Lakhmansingh for their failure in defending the fort of Raisin.

(154) Tab.III/366; Mirat.,p.174. See also The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/225.

(155) Mirat.,p.175; Tab.III/366. Tab.(III/366) says that Silhadi told Malik Sher about the daily expenses in his harem which amounted to 1 crore bettle-leaves, several'seers' of camphor and 300 new dresses for his

women companions. Mirat.(p.176) testifies to the great luxury of the harem of Silhadi as 'hardly owned by any other king of the period".

(156) Tab.III/366-67; Mirat.,p.175. For the relation between Durgavati and Bhupat, see Ch.VI n.107 above.

(157) Tab.III/367. See also The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/225. Farishta (IV/122) does not mention Taz Khan and Mirat.(p.175) does not mention any name whatever.

(158) Sultan Alam KHan (according to Memoirs II/272) was the son of Jalal Khan, and the adopted son of Mir Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa, the vazir of Babar (Mirat.,p.176), and was put in charge of Kalpi (Memoirs II/272; Mirat.,p.176). After his defeat at the hands of Mirza Hindal, he fled to Bahadur Shah about the time of the fall of Raisin (Tab.III/367). De has confused him with Sultan Alluddin Lodi s/o Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (Tab.I/52 n.1). Al Badaoni (I/451)also calls him son of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/230) says that he joined Bahadur Shah in 1524-25 A.D.

(159) Mirat.,p.176; Tab.III/367,616. But Tab. does not mention the estate of Silhadi. Farishta (IV/270) mentions only Raisin and no other district. The includion of Chanderi in the jagir of Alam Khan shows that Medini Rai was also reduced by this time (cf. Mirat.,p.179).

(160) Tab.III/367-68; Mirat.,p.177.

(161) Mirat.,p.177.

(162) Farishta IV/123.

(163) Tab.III/368. The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/226) gives his name as ~~Bhirangal~~ Bhirhangal.

(164) Mirat.,p.177.

(165) ibid.,p.177; Farishta IV/123. Tab.(III/368) holds that Bahadur Shah joined Muhammad Khan Asiri when he was proceeding to Gagrun and Ram, the governor of the fort fled away as if without fighting.

(166) Tab.III/368.

(167) ibid.,III/368; Mirat.,p.177. Farishta (IV/123) puts Ranthambhor in the place of Mandsaur.

(168) Mirat.,p.177.

(169) ibid.,p.177; Tab.III/368.

(170) Mirat.,p.177.

(171) Farishta IV/270.

(172) Mirat.,p.177. Tab. (III/368) and Farishta (IV/123, 270) do not give the date of his reaching Champaner.

(173) Mirat.,p.177. See Farishta IV/123 and Tab.III/368-69.

(174) Raval Rana ki Vat, ~~leaf-84~~ leaves 81(a)-(b).

(175) Vanshavali 828, leaves 62(a)-(b).

(176) Vanshavali 872,p.131.

(177) Vanshavali 878,leaf 67(b).

(178) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf 2(b).

(179) Vansha Bhaskar, Mayukh 180, pp.2135-43.

(180) ibid.,p.2125. The mother of Surajmal was Kheta Bai ~~(1884)~~ d/o Rao Suja of Marwar (Nensi I/108; Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1701). So Dhanbai Rathor m/o Ratan Singh and Khetu Rathorm/o Surajmal were sisters.

(181) ibid.,p.2126.

(182) ibid.,p.2127.

(183) Nensi i/51.

(184) ibid.,I/52.

(185) Khuman Raso, leaf 127, verses 54-55. See Appendix P.

(186) Nensi I/47-48,109.

(187) Nensi I/51.

(188) Nensi I/52-3.

(189) ibid.,I/110.

(190) ibid.,I/51 .

(191) ibid.,I/53,110. Other Vanshavalis simply say that there was mutual destruction of lives of Ratansi and Surajmal (Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vansha--vali 872, p.131; Vanshavali 878, leaves 67(a)(b); Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(b); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1701). Rawal Rana ki Vat and Khuman Raso give a slightly differ--ent version. See appendices Q and R.

(192) Nensi I/53; Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 82(b).

(193) Nensi I/50. See also Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1701. Kivajana is 20 miles from Bhansrodgadh, 44 miles frpm Chittor, 22 miles from Bundi and 12 miles from Mahnal (Nensi I/50).

(193a) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1702.

(194) Vansh Bhaskar, Nayukh 183, verses 39-40.

(195) Nensi I/53.

(196) Vanshavali 872,p.132.

(197) Amar Kavya, leaves 30(b)-31(a).

(198) Mirat.,p.179. See also Nensi I/54.Vanshavali 878 (leaf 68(a)) and Surya Vansha (leaf 50(b)) have

included the Second Saka of Chittor (1535 A.D.) in the reign of Ratansi due to their confusion between Ratansi I (the husband of fabulous Padmani: Banke--dan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 965) and Ratansi II (s/o Sanga: See Appendix S). The first Saka of Chittor had taken place in the days of Ratansi I (Nensi I/21).

(199) Akbar Nama I/301.

(200) Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(b).

(201) Sisod Vanshavali, item 227.

(202) Rajavali (without pagination); Mewar ka Itihas, item 227.

(203) Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b); Papers in the Collection of Shri Motilalji Shrotriya.

(204) Surya Vansha, leaf 49(b).

(205) See Chart II in Tiwari: Some Undetermined Dates of Mewar, Uni.Poona Journal, 1955, facing p.98.

(206) Vanshavali 826, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,pp.130-1; Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b).

(207) Khuman Raso, leaf 127(b), verse 43.

(208) Vanshavali 828 (leaf 62(b)) gives 13 wives and 5 concubines, Vanshavali 872 (p.132), 1200 wives and 5 concubines, Vanshavali 878 (leaf 67(a)) wives and 5 concubines, Surya Vansha (leaf 50(a)), 13 wives and 5 concubines and Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat (leaf 2(b)) gives only 4 wives.

(209) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf 2(b).

(210) ibid.,leaf 2(b); Nensi I/53.

(211) Badava Devidan, op. cit.,leaf 2(b)

(212) Epi. Ind.,II/42-47.

(213) Vanshavali 828 (leaf 62(a)) gives 10,000 cavalry, 11,000 foot,300 elephants,300 drummers; Vanshavali 872 (p.129) gives 40,000 cavalry, 17,000 foot, 300/~~drummers~~ elephants, 200 drummers, 21 Rajas and 22 Rawats; Vanshavali 878 (leaf 66(b)) gives 10,000 cavalry, 300 foot, 1,100 elephants, 300 drummers; and Rajavali (without pagination) gives 10,000 cavalry, 30,000 foot, 1,100 elephants, 300 drummers, 21 Rajas, 22 Raos and 9 Rawats.

(214) Vanshavali 872, p.129; Mirat.,p.172; Tab.III/361; Farishta IV/119.

(215) Vanshavali 872,p.129. 11,000 of Vanshavali 828 (leaf 62(a)) appears to be the mis-rendering of 17,000. It also cannot be accepted that Mewar had only 300 foot (cf. Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b)). The figure 30,000 of Rajavali appearsa little too high though there is not valid reason for rejecting this figure.

(216) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,p.129. When Sanga himself had only 1,000 elephants, it is difficult to believe that with ~~much~~ reduced kingdom Ratansi could maintain 1,100 elephants.

(217) Vanshavali828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 66(b) Rajavali (without pagination).

(218) Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 6~~9~~(b); Surya Vansha, leaf 50(a). All the Vanshavalis except Vanshavali 828 give 1,000 cows. It appears that by mistake the scribe has rendered 11,000 into 1,000.

Appendix 'N' :

'' संवत १५८० राणो सांगोजी वैकुंठ पधारचा । कालपी रे डेरे जेहर हुवो । प्रभार करमचंद रतनसींघजी की धो । पाट रतनसिंघजी बैठाया । भाअी विक्रमादित्यजी ने परा काडचा । हाडी करमेती राव नाराणदासजी री बेटी भुदेसिंघजी रा प्रभ थे बूंदी गया । छ महिना प्रभ है । चौथे महिने बूंदी में भुदयसिंघजी रो जनम हुवो । भाट पदसाहे जहे राखी रो बहानो करने दली हमाजु पतीसाह नखे मोक्लो । हजूर पोहता राखी कागद नजर कीदा । हींदवारी रीत पूछने वोरपूसली रा चून मे रीणथम्भोर दीधो । राखी बंधाअी । पातसाहा कही काचली बहीन मांगे जदी तीयारी है । या कहे ने भाट है सीख दीदी । या रतनसिंघजी सांभल ने राव सुरजमल अुपर प्रस राखी ''

.. रावल राणा री वात, पत्र ८१

Appendix 'O' :

'' नेकमदीत पेता रतनसी माता हाडी करमेती बाअी ''

स्व. मोतीलालजी क्षेत्रीय के संग्रह के पत्र से.

Appendix 'P' :

''सगपण आंणी आसागणेा । मन ही नीणे संक ।
रात दिवस बुंदी रहे । नाहर जेम निसंक ।।
रतन तणे मेवाडघर । मांहरे बाकन देश
अत बुंदी अित चित्रगढ । न नमुं रतन नरेश ।।

.. खुमाण रासेा , पत्र १२७ब.

Appendix 'Q' :

''सीकार खेलता भुला रावजी ने बेठाया दिवाणजी पण बेठा । जीनावर नीसरता हा । चोटेा मलकारी होती थी । अीतरे अेक अेकल नीसरचेा नद हुकम कीधेाजो ठकुजी अेकल जाण न पावे । ठकु चहुवाण समझने रावजी सु कहयेा रावजी अेकल आये है जिणीने जुकेगा नही । रावजी मरे कसीसे बाहता था, नीजर अेकल अुपर थी अितरे ठकु चहुवाण मलकेा रावजी रे लगायेा सेा धुक धुकी रेा लागेा । मलकेा छुट गयेा । रावजी सुधा ठकुल गया । जीव सुस्त हेा गयेा । ठकु हेलेा पाडयो ने कहयेा दीवाण हुकम हुवेा थेा ज्यो अेक लगारचेा

..

Appendix 'Q':(Contd...)

फते हुअी । या सांभल ने दीवाण अुठा दोडे अुपरे आया । दांता अुपरे कबोंड रो गोसोटे हुकम कीधो । अीदा जब रावजी करहाहा । या कहे ठकु सु वात करी । अितरे रावजी हे चेत आयो । पल खुली । देखे तो दीवाण भुा छाती अुपरे । अेक हाथ सु कटारी वाही सो रावजी ने दीवाण भेला रह्या । दीवाण रे पण कटारी कोडी अुपरे वही सो दीवाण तो अुपरे ने राव नीचे ''

.. रावल राणा री वात , पत्र ८१ अ -ब.

Appendix 'R' :

अधिपति बुंदी अुपरे । बडि आयो खुमांण
सुजो आव्योहो सामूंहो । जुडया बिहुं जंग राण ।। ५७।।
सालो बहिनेवी सकज । लगी झुंबो दोअी लोह
पटके सूजो पाडियो । वाह्यो बोल छंछोह ।। ५९ ।।
बोले जब रांणो रतनसी । नेडे आय कही छे अिसी
करतो म्हासुं तुं ही मरोड । झोकायत नित करतो जोड ।।६०।।
धुलि पालि तुझने पाडियो । रांणोजी पगसुं ठेलियो
पडि सुजें पकडि चाल । वाही राणं मणी करवाल ।।६१ ।।
दोही पडिया पूरें लोह । सालाबहि नेवी रो यो मोह
आया कांम दोही भूपती । नणद मोजाअी सती हुअी ।। ६२ ।।

.. खुमाण रासो , पत्र १२७ब.

Appendix 'S' :

'' रतनसींग रांणो सं १५८६ सा. १४५७ पेता सांगो माता राठोड धनबाअी । चीतो रांणी के वचनपर पदमणी परण्या । बारा बरस पातसाह सूं लडता गोरा बादल सू ''

.. स्व. मोतीलालजी श्रोत्रीय के संग्रह के पत्र.

CHAPTER VIII.

RANA VIKRAMAJIT S/O RANA SANGA.

(1532 - 1535 A.D.)

Vikramajit, the second surviving son of Sanga from Hadi Karmeti, succeeded his half-brother Ratansi, who had died issueless. Though the exact date or year of birth of Vikramajit is unknown, it is clear from the available information that he was not a minor at the time of his succession. Sanga had sent him with presents to Bahadur Shah in 1526 A.D.[1] Ratansi had also sent him as the commander of 40,000 cavalry to relieve the fort of Raisin in 1532 A.D.[2] In absence of any proof about the practice of associating minor princes with diplomatic and military missions in Mewar it should be accepted that Vikramajit was quite a grown up boy in 1526 A.D. and was old enough to be entrusted with the responsibility of heading a cavalry force of 40,000 heads, sent for relieving a garrison. So it might be said that Vikramajit was too young to be a ruler but it is wrong to say that he was a minor. It is ~~just possible~~ also well known that at the time of the death of Sanga, Vikramajit held the, if not the, command of the fort of Ranthambhor.[3]

Bahadur Shah's Attack on Chittor:

Bahadur Shah was already busy with his pre-parations for attacking Mewar for Ratansi's inter-

-vention on behalf of Silhadi. In Oct. 1532 A.D.he had despatched from Diu to Muhammadabad a great Egyptian gun,[4] captured from the Portuguese recently.[5] It was so big that many bullocks and 300 sailors could pull it with a great difficulty.[6] Hundred pieces of ordinance and two large size guns[7] were also sent.[7] This artillery was intended to be used for battering down the walls of Chittor.[8] At Batwah[8] he recruited several thousand soldiers,[9] collected a vast quantity of arms,[10] and sent them all to Mandu.[11] Muhammad Khan Asiri, was ordered to move out from Khandesh to attack Chittor and Khudawand Khan, the commander of Mandu, was asked to join him.[12] Meanwhile Ratan si died on November, 2, 1532 A.D. This expedited the attack of Bahadur on Mewar. On learning about the safe arrival of arms and army at Mandu, the Sultan left Champaner on November 16 and by forced marches reached Mandu on November 18. Orders were issued to Muhammad Khan Asiri and Khudavand Khan to proceed against Chittor.[13]

When they reached Mandsaur they met emiss--aries of Rana Vikramajit with proposals for peace which stipulated surrender by the Rana of all his possessions in Malwa, submission to any terms imposed by the Sultan, acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Sultan, and willingness to perform all the duties demanded of him.[14] The Sultan (then at Mandu) was at once sounded by the commanders through Shujat Khan. Bahadur was so much offended at the intervention of Ratansi in

the Silhadi affair that he refused to listen to these overtures and ordered his army to press on.[15] Tatar Khan, the grand son of Bahlol Lodi, was asked to take the initiative in laying siege to the fort of Chittor.[16] Tatar Khan moved cautiously dreading an engagement. But the Rana dared not risk any battle.[16] So the forces of Gujarat besieged the fort of Chittor in Dec. 1532 A.D.[17] On Feb., 9, 1533 A.D. Tatar Khan conquered the lower fortifications of Chittor[18]. Next day he attacked the fort from the side called Kotha and carried two (western?) gates.[18] The Sultan at Mandu was informed of this success. So by forced marches he reached Chittor at the head of 5,000 horse within 24 hours from Mandu. A big army followed him. From the hill of Chittor cannonade was ordered. Each discharge brought down some portion of the wall of the fort.[18] The Sultan ~~himself~~ exerted himself in a commendable way. At Lakhota Gate battery Alif Khan was appointed. Tatar Khan and Medini Rai and most of the Afgan and Deccani nobles were fixed at Hanuman Pol battery. White bastion battery was supervised by Mallu Khan, Sikandar Khan and other nobles of Malwa. Bhupat Rai and Alif Khan were also similarly assigned important assignments.[19] The strong armament and ammunition available with the Sultan were enough to besiege four forts similar to Chittor.[20] Parties were sent to ravage the adjoining country of the Rana. Rumi Khan exhibited great skill in mounting guns on the hill-tops of the adjoining elevations and in aiming the guns. His bombardment

of the positions inside the fort was very accurate. The quick firings, the mining operations and the - running up of approaches showed him as an excellent mark-man.[21]

In this extreme distress Vikramajit made an appeal to Humayun for help.[22] The request remained barren. The plea of Farishta[23] that Humayun moved to Gwalior after this request is incorrect.[24]

The siege of Chittor lasted for 3 months[25]. During this period the Rajputs defended the fort bravely and made gallant sorties[26]. The Gujarat army also met their challenge boldly and beat them off. Both the parties performed several gallant deeds.[26] Rumi Khan exhibited great skill. He fired hell upon the garrison.[27] Ultimately Rumi Khan succeeded in breaching a wall.[28] The engagement which followed saw many Rajputs, including 17 nobles killed[29]. However, the fort did not fall though its defence was despaired of even by the besieged.[30] So a peace proposal was made by Karmeti[31] through her son-in-law Bhupat to the Sultan[32]. The envoys of the Sultan visited the fort and trusted men of the Rana went to the camp of the Sultan to settle the terms of the treaty.[33]

Karmeti's Negotiations with Bahadur Shah:

Karmeti solicited pardon for her son, Vikramajit, and promised that in future he would remain the most obedient servant of the Sultan. The surrender of the trophies and jewels of Malwa, ten million tankas, 100 horses and 10 elephants was also

promised,[34] provided the Sultan spared the place and marched away.[35] 10 million tankas were in those days equivalent to 5 lakhs of rupees.[36] So whatever the Muslim historians might claim, the money and animals proposed to Bahadur Shah do not indicate that it was a big triumph. So not the reasonability of the terms of this treaty(which, according to Mirat-i-Sikandari, was the ground for their acceptance by Bahadur[37]) but the Portuguese menace in Diu[38] and the movements of Nizamuddin Deccani[39] were also the weighty reasons for compelling Bahadur to patch up a peace. Udai Singh was given in hostage by the Rana.[40] On receiving the stipulated amount and animals, Bahadur Shah retired two miles from Chittor on March, 23, 1533 A.D.[41]

Loss of Ajmer and Ranthambhor:

From his headquarters two miles f away from Chittor, Bahadur Shah despatched Malik Shamsherul Mulk Nulia Khan with 12 dobles to conquer Ajmer.[42] Similarly, Barhanul Mulk Muhammad Bayani and Mujahid Khan were sent to reduce Ranthambhor[43]. Rumi Khan also accompanied this party. Ranthambhor was besieged. During the siege Bahadur Shah promised the fort of Ranthambhor to Rumi Khan. However, after its fall, Bahadur was dissuaded from cashing his promise by Amin Nas. So Rumi Khan was promised the fort of Chittor, after its capture in the near future.[44] On March, 30, Bahadur left for Mandsaur from his camp near Chittor.[45]

This makes two things clear. Firstly, the price paid by Karmeti was simply for raising the siege, and

sparing the fort, of Chittor (cf. the conquests of Ajmer and Ranthambhor). And secondly, the Sultan had in his mind the idea of attacking Chittor in some near future (cf. the promise of the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan).

Mewar Between the Two Attacks of Bahadur Shah:

Vikramajit exhibited the worst features of his character after the departure of the Gujarati forces from Mewar. He took to drinking[46] and committed himself to the company of wrestlers and low born[47]. He boasted ludly about the physical prowess of his wrestler - companions;[47] and openly insulted the Rajputs.[48] These wrestlers received free ration of "ghee" (clarified butter), wheat and meat from the State.[49] This dis--gusted the nobles. Some Rajput officers, including Duna Mehta, colluded with the Minas (Meos) and other anti-social elements, who lifted away the state-cattle from the plains under the nose of the fort of Chittor.[49] The officers commanded by Vikramajit to pursue the gangsters refused to carry out the order.[49] The Rana could also do nothing except nursing his anger against these disobedient officers in his palace.[50]

Flight of Udai Singh to Mewar from Gujarat:

About this time, another turn for the worse occured. Udai Singh, who was handed over to Bahadur Shah in hostage, returned to Mewar under peculiar cir--cumstances. Bahadur, being issuless, wanted to adopt him as his son and successor after converting him to

Islam. This wish he had also expressed to some of his confidential advisors. The Rajputs, who had -- accompanied the prince to Gujarat, on learning about this plan, fled precipitately to Chittor under the cover of darkness to save the prince's religion. Soon their flight became known to Bahadur. He was greatly offended by it and attacked Mewar in effect.[51] However, these events were simply occasions for the ventilation of the inner ani-mosity lying stored in the heart of Bahadur for Sanga's invasion of Gujarat and his taking away of the notable families of Ahmednagar in slavery, including the daughter of the Qazi of the place.[52] Bahadur wanted to avenge Ahmadnagar on Chittor.[52] The time was also opportune because the nobles were estranged from the Rana.[53]

Bahadur Shah's Second Siege of Chittor: Battle of Jiran

Bahadur Shah had already collected a huge army comprising recruits from Khandesh, the Deccan, Konkan and Gujarat. Even the Portuguese and the Mughals were drafted into this force[54]. All told, it consisted of 1,80,000 soldiers and 1,400 elephants.[55] On learning about the internal dissensions in Mewar,[56] he left Mandu for Chittor at the head of this army.[57]

When the intelligence of the intended attack of Bahadur Shah oh Chittor reached - Vikramajit[58] through the Vakils of Mewar in

Mandu,[59] he sent word to the nobles to repair to Chittor with their armies.[60] Rao Dalpat of Dumpat,[61] Jhala Sajja,[62] Rawal Ashokamal Pawar,[63] Kalla Chundawat,[64] Rao Asakaran,[65] Rawat Kheta[66] and many others joined the Rana[67]. Rana Vikramajit placed himself at the head of this army which consisted of cavalry and elephantry[68] and rode out to meet the invaders beyond Nimuch, at Jiran[69], near Mandsaur[70]. The young Rana and Bahadur Shah rode on their respective elephants to direct their armies.[71] Vikramajit was too young to match the trained army and the advanced strategy of Bahadur Shah. Besides, the artillery of Gujarat was, again, a very powerful weapon against the Sisodias[72] who had not by that time equipped themselves with fire-arms. Soon after the beginning of the battle the defeat of the Mewar army became evident. Differences sprung up between the Rana and his nobles. The Rajput soldiers taunted the Rana about his past remarks about the uselessness of the Rajputs as a fighting apparatus and withdrew from the field with an admonition to the Rana to call his wrestler-companions to fight[73]. The Sisodia army and the nobles fled in all the four dir--ections[74] It was a complete victory of Bahadur.[75] Vikramajit also fled[76] to Chittor[77] counting wounds on his person[78] and closed the gates of the fort.[78]

Bahadur reconnoitrated the field and set down to invest the fort[79] in Nov.-Dec.1534 A.D.[80] The management and command of the siege was entrusted to Rumi Khan on the reiterated promise of handing over

the fort of Chittor after its fall[81]. Rumi Khan exerted himself in a superhuman, and the most excellent, way.[81] His guns and ammunition as well as trained Pourtuguese artillery-men performed miracles[82].

Meanwhile, offended, besides other reasons[83], by the attack of Bahadur Shah's general Tatar Khan on Biana[84] and Burhanul Mulk's attack on Nagor[85], Humayun marched out from Agra on Feb. 18,1535 A.D. to oppose Bahadur[86]. While at Gwalior he learnt about Bahadur Shah's siege of Chittor[87]. However, he pressed on. The garrison of Raisin surrendered without any opposition[88]. Bahadur Shah begged him to spare the Sultan till he defeated the infidels at Chittor[89]. Humayun gave no reply[90]. Leaving Mandu in the rear, Humayun reached as far as Sarangpur[90] which also surrendered[91]. Terrified by the news of the rapid march of Humayun into Malwa, Bahadur Shah called a meeting of his nobles for counsel.[92] All except Sadr Khan advised for raising up the siege and fight with the Mughals[93]. Sadr Khan Hussain Abdul Latif reminded the Sultan ~~of~~ to of the Quranic obligation which bound Humayun and requested the Sultan to carry on the siege[93]. His advice prevailed and the siege went on[93]. Humayun, on learning about this conference[94], halted at Sarangpur to save his co-religionist from molestation while the latter was waging a holy war[95]. However, the authorities are not unanimous about the party which took initiative in getting this Mughal halt. Tabkat-i Akbari[96], and Al Badaoni[97] hold that Humayun halted of his own accord at Sarangpur in confirmity with the rules of Islam. Mirat-i Sikandari[98] also holds this view but says that

Humayun halted at Gwalior. Akbar Nama[99] says that the [illegible] halted at Ujjain. Jauhar[100], on the other hand, says that Humayun halted somewhere near Chittor at the request of Bahadur Shah. The Rana requested the Emperor through Dungarsi, a natural son of Rana Sanga, for aid[101]. Though the time of this request is not mentioned, it is not irreasonable to infer that it would have been addressed to Humayun when the latter's determination to halt at Sarangpur would have become known to the Rana. However, religious scruples proved too powerful for the emperor[102].

Bahadur Shah went on with the siege of Chittor apparently undisturbed[103] though the reverses of the Gujarat arms at Biana and the surrender of the forts of Raisin and Sarangpur had chastened him[104]. However, the failure of Humayun to come to their aid made the garrison desperate. Rawat Bagh Surajamalot of Deolia was elected " the king[105] of Chittor[106]". He gave grant of some land for the peace of the soul of his father[107]. He had already extracted a promise from Karmeti that the grant of villages made by his father in Sadadi in the days of Rana Raimal should never be annulled, as a price for his consent for acting as "the Rana of Chittor"[108].

With the permission of Bagh Singh, Vikramjit and Udai Singh were removed from Chittor to Bundi under the escort of Ravat Udayaditya and Chakrasen Dhandhariya[109]. Meanwhile the Gujarati forces succeeded in running a mine under a tower called Bikakoh[110]. 35 hand length wall blew up[111]. ~~Rao~~ Arjun, s/o ~~Rao~~ Narbad of Bundi, along with 5 other nobles, was blown up[112]. Immediately Rao Duda and Satta Sisodia rushed to

the breach and succeeded in stemming the rush of the invaders into the fort[113]. Others also ran to their help and the attack did not succeed[113]. No Muslim historian mentions this event, which, by itself, points to the failure of this attack. The wall-piece again landed in its place[114]. The fact that the fort did not fall due to this exploison is a safe clue for inferring that the garrison succeeddd in healing up the wall promptly while Durga and Satta were fighting off the assailants[115]. The siege lasted for 3 months[116]. Bahadur Shah by them succeeded in building some covered ways[117].

Second Saka of Chittor:-

Finding no alternative other than death, the garrison performed "Jauhar"[118]. These Babies which were not consigned to fire were thrown into tanks or wells or other such acquatic places[119]. This Saka perished a daughter of Karmeti (w/o Bhati Chand Khichi), two wives of Rana Vikramjit[120], Padmavati (w/o Rao Ganga)[121] and about 13,000 other ladies along with their children[122]. The native authorities are not unanimous about Karmeti. Some hold that she also perished in this general conflagaration[123]. Kavi Rao[124], an almost near contemporary poet, and Vanshavali 828[125] say that she doned herself in male attires and fought to her death with sword in hand. The malefolk,clad in suffron robes, rushed upon the invaders and sold their lives very dearly. Solanki Bhairavdas fought at Rampol and died[126]. Sinha Jhala Ajjawat[127] and Sajja Jhala bore the brunt of the battle at Hanuman Pol[128]. Dodya Ajjawat, Sajja, Narayandas, Dodya Chandra Bhan, Chauhan Isardas, Hathi Sonagara,

Rawat Bagh's Cenetoph,
Chittor.

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Ranigade Chauth Singh[129], Rawat Duda Ratansinghot, Sonigara Mala (s/o Vala), Chundawat Nanga Singhot (b/o Gagga), Panchayana Pawar (s/o Karamchanda Pawar)[130], Purohit Devidas[131], Karma Ratansinghot Chundawat[132], Ragodas[133], Dhandhriya Randhir[134], Fatta[135] and Udaidas Munjawat Rathor[135a] ~~and~~ with about 13,000 soldiers sold their lives very dearly to the invaders[136]. Bodies of about 3,000 babies were later on recovered by the invaders from wells, tanks other acquatic places[137]. Rawat Bagh Singh (now the Rana of Chittor) fought bravely and fell fighting near Pandalpol gate of the fort[138]. Bahadur Shah was the first man to enter into the fort[139]. A great massacre was perpetrated[140]. Numberless captives of both the sexes were taken ~~captive~~[141]. ~~In a special function arranged for the~~ Huge booty was also received[142]. It was Feb.27,1535 A.D.[143]. In a special function[144] all the spoils of Chittor were distributed among the soldiers[145].

Bahadur Shah had promised the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan[146] but after its conquest, on the advice of other nobles against handing over such a powerful and strategic fort to an alien,[147] it was made over by the Sultan to Malik Shamsher-ul Mulk[148].

Bahadur Shah and Humayun Near Mandsaur:

After a stay of 14 days in Chittor[149] to carry out repairs[150], Bahadur moved towards Humayun[151], who also in his turn, moved from Sarangpur to meet him[152]. Both the armies met in the district of Mandsaur[153]. Sadr Khan's advice to engage the Mughals immediately,

when the Gujarat army was in excellent spirit, was rejected by Bahadur in favour of Rumi Khan's proposal to surround the camp, on the pattern of the strategy of Rum, with gun-carriages[154] or ditches[155], inspite of the objections from the nobles[156]. Both the armies lay encamped opposite each other for about two months[157]. About this time Alam Khan came from Raisin with a large army and joined Bahadur[158]. Many skirmishes took place[159]. The Mughals hovered around the Gujarat camp but did not attack it and avoided their guns[160]. Supply of Bahadur Shah was cut off[160]. The Gujaratis were boxed up in their camp[160] and suffered a great famine[161]. The Sultan was terrified[161] he ordered the destruction of jewels and other valuable articles, mutilated his favourite elephants and burst his guns including the famous pair - Laila and Majanu[162]. Under the cover of night he fled[163] towards Mandsaur[164] ~~with the help of Durgabhan~~[165] and thence moved to Mandu with the help of Rao Durgabhan of Rampura[165]. It was April 25,1535 A.D.[165a]. On learning about his flight the army of Gujarat either melted away[165b] or was despersed by the Mughals[166].

Reconquest of Chittor by the Sisodias:

The despersion of the Gujarat army and the fact of the flight of Bahadur Shah to Mandu presented the nobles of Mewar with a golden opportunity to liberate the fort of Chittor. The fact that the combined strength of the garrisons of Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Chittor could not be more than 20,000 cavalry[167] shows that the number of the Gujarat army in Chittor at this time was not very large.

Rao Surtan of Bundi, the host of Viramajit, sent a message tp Humayun through Padam Shah for aid[168]. Humayun repponded favourably[168]. Possbily, Humayun sent some Mughal soldiers for helping the Sisodias. With 5-7,000 soldiers the Sisodias attacked the fort of Chittor[169] and reconquered it on May 4,1535 A.D.[170] Raval Rana ki Vat[171] says that after the conquest of Mandu , Humayun turned towards, and conquered, Chittor. It further adds that Humayun enquired from Padam Shah about the whereabouts of Vikramajit. On learning that the Rana was then in Bundi, he was called to Chittor by the emperor; and on his return Humayun himself girdled the royal sword around the young Rana's waist.[171] Muhnot Nensi also confirms the fact of Humayun's coming to Chittor and his participation in the reconquest of this fort[172]. No Muslim historian has referred to these events. However, all Vanshavalis[173] corroborate the main trends of this account. What appears most probable in the light of the testimony of these Rajput chronicles is that some Mughal help was received by Vikramjit in the reconquest of Chittor. However, it is improbable that Humayun personally participated in the installation ceremony of Vikramjit there. The only available instance of Humayun's approach to the fort of Chittor is his meeting with his half-brother Mirza Asakari "near Chittor" when the latter was moving from Ahmedabad to Delhi in rebellion against Humayun, then in Mandu[174]. Possibly, this event has been inflated by the chroniclers of Mewar into Humayun's entry into the fort of Chittor and his participation in the "second" investiture of Vikramaditya.

Assassination of Vikramjit:-

Vikramjit's recent stay in Bundi was too sweet to teach him any lesson. So instead of being grateful to his nobles for their initiative in the reconquest of Chittor, he started insulting them with an added zeal. One day he got foul water released on the person of Rawat Khan while the latter was on his way to the court. As if this affront to a respectable noble was not enough, on the same day the Rana managed to punch the nose of Karam Chand Pawar in the open darbar. Ravat Khan tauntingly enquired ~~from Ashok~~ from Karam Chand Pawar just after this event about the sweet scent of the flower thus offered by the Rana. This incensed Karam Chand into a retort that very soon those flowers were to mature into ~~fui~~ fruits. Both of them wrote to Banavir and recalled him to Mewar[175] from Gujarat[176]. Banavir soon became a favourite of the young Rana[177]. Some time afterwards these nobles suggested to Banavir to murder Vikramjit. Banavir~~m~~ excused himself by protesting his own illegitimate birth which was a bar to his ~~re~~sumption of the royalty of Mewar. But the conspirators encouraged him by saying that whatever the nobles would decide was to be final. Banavir agreed[178]. Rajavali disagrees with this view and holds that all nobles, except Raval Khan, were involved in the plot on the life of Vikramjit.[179] This view is corroborated by Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat which says that Rawat Khan, known for his loyalty to Vikramjit, was kept out of Chittor by sending him (Rawat Khan) away to his father-in-law's home on the

festival of "Tija"[180] (which occurs every year on Śravan Krishna 3).

One day at about 8 P.M.[180], Banavir, his brother-in-law Dakhani[181] (Daksh Singh) and several other nobles[182] entered into the female apartments of Vikramajit and proceeded to kill him. Vikramjit, then taking bath,[183] solicited mercy on the plea that the whole of Mewar b lay in the hands of Banvir, who was his älder brother, and that itwas due to his (Banavir's) presence and protection that he (Vikramjit) was feeling secure. Banavir's heart melted at this pètious appeal[184] but his brother-in-law Dakhani, inspite of Banavir's objection,[185] killed Vikramjit by cutting his throat[186]. Raval Rana ki Vat, on the other hand, says that one day in darbar at a pre-concerted signal, Banavir attacked Vikramjit with a dagger and killed him there and then[187]. This is incorrect because had it not been the night time, Panna, the foster-mother of Udai Singh, could not have substituted her own son in the bed of her ward without detection, as we shall see below.

After despatching Vikramjit, the assassins proceeded to kill Udai Singh.[188] The nobles could not stand it and raised some hue and cry[189]. On hearing cries of lamentations from the palace of Vikramjit and on being informed of the murder of the Rana[189], Panna[190], hurriedly removed her sleeping ward from his cot and substituted her own son in his place. Banavir soon arrived and killed the innocent son of Panna, inspite of the entreaties of its weeping mother, and left the palace[191]. Raval Rana ki Vat says that after killing Vikramjit, Banavir and others moved into the palace of Udai Singh, who was

then taking his mid-day meal. Panna, already informed of the murder of Vikramjit, removed him outside the fort and got her own son killed instead[192]. This is again impossible because in the broad day light nobody would have failed to detect the proxy of Udai Singh.

Thus died Vikramjit at the hands of assassins, hired by the nobles. As a prince he did show some diplomacy by shrewdly negotiating with Babar to threaten Ratansi. However,as a ruler he exhibited in his make all those qualities which make a bad king. Bad company and power spoiled him. Even II Saka of Chittor failed to cure him. The only fruitful act of his reign was the bestowal of the fief of Kumbhalner on his younger brother Udai Singh. As Udai Singh is said to have lived at Kumbhalner for 7 years upto the time of his expulsion of Banavir from Chittor[193] in 1541 A.D.,this grant might have been made in cir. 1534 A.D.

Chronology of ~~Banavir~~ Vikramjit:

The reign of Vikramjit is said to be either of 2 yrs 7 months and 3 days[194] or 2 yrs 9 months and 3 days[195] or 8 yrs 1 month and 3 days[196]. The sum of 8 yrs 1 month and 3 days appears to be the aggregate of the reigns of Vikramjit, Banavir and Rawat Bagh. Ravat Bagh Singh appear-s to have ruled for(2 yrs 9 months and 3 days - 2 yrs 7 months and 3 days =) 2 months. By adding 2 yrs 9 months and 3 days to Kartika Shukla 8, 1589 V.S. (= Nov.5,1532 ADD.) the date of the assassination of Ratansi in Bundi) we get Shravan Shukla 5, 1591 V.S. (= Sunday, July 11, 1535 A.D. or Monday August 9,1535 A.D. due to intercallory

month). It was the 17th lunar day after the festival of "Tija" which had offered an occasion to the conspirators to remove Ravat Khan to his father-in-law's place. Thus Vikramjit ascended the throne of Mewar on Tuesday, Nov. 5,1532 A.D., recovered Chittor from the Gujarat garrison on May 4,1535 A.D. and was assassinated on either July 11 or August 9, 1535 A.D.

Family of Vikramjit:-

Vikramjit is said to have had 5 wives[197]. Badava Devidan gives the names of only four of the first three them, out of whom immolated themselves on his pyre[198]. Their names are:

(1) Lakh Kumar d/o Rao Sursena Solanki.
(2) Rajamata d/o Rao Bhagwandas Solanki.
(3) Harsamde d/o Rao Ganga Rathor of Marwar
(4) Chauhan Chandramanta d/o Hada Kalla Jagmalot.

We know ~~the~~ from Nensi[199] that his two wives - the daughter of Kalla and the daughter of Devidas - had sacrificed their lives in the Second Saka of Chittor. Thus four ladies mentioned by Devidan and one d/o Devidas, in all five wives were taken by Vikramjit upto the time of his death. None of these bore any issue to him.

Inscriptions and Coins:-

Two coins of Vikramjit were collected by Cunningham. One their reverse a Persian legend reading the word "Sultan" was given. On the obverse the legend

gave
~~gave~~-"Rana Vikramaditya"[200]. A pholographs of one another coin of Vikramjit was recently published in the Journal of Numismatic Society of India by Dr. Katare[201]. The legend on its obverse reads "Virkrammaya" and bears in Nagari numericals the figure 1592. On the reverse lies ~~was~~ the Persian legend reading "Al Sultan bin Sultan"[202]. No inscription of his reign is so far discovered.

Several copper-plates recording the grants of lands by this Rana are stored in Chief Commissioner Office, Udaipur. One of them records the grant of a village to Purohit Jana Shankar on the occasion of the marriage of the Rana with Lakh Kumar d/o Bhavanidas Solanki at Mandalgadh.[203]

Army of Vikramjit:-

Vanshavali 872[204] says that Vikramjit had 11,000 foot, 300 elephants Cavalry 70,000 cavalry/and 300 drummers. The ~~latter~~ figure appears to a misreading of 10,000. So it might be said that Vikramjit had 10,000 infantry,10,000 cavalry, 300 elephants and 300 drummers.

Charities of Vikramjit:-

No Vanshavali mentions the daily charities of this Rana. His aggregate charities during his reign were, according to Vanshavali 872[205], 500 cows, 1 elephant, 15 villages and 15 plots of land. Vanshavali 878[206] and Surya Vansha[207] give 100 cows, 11 horses , 1 elephant, 5 villages and 15 plots of land.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Mirat-i Sikandari, pp.158-59; Tab. III/343.

(2) Mirat.,p.172; Tab. III/361; Farishta IV/119.

(3) Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramdit aur Udai Singh ra (Appendix T), verse 1. See also Memoirs II/341.

(4) Mirat.,p.177.

(5) cf. Tab.III/369.

(6) Mirat.,p.177.

(7) Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.243.

(8) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.177.

(9) ibid.,p.177; Tab. III/369.

(10) Mirat.,p.177.

(11) ibid.,p.178.

(12) ibid.,p.178. See also Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.244.

(13) ibid.,p.178. It was about this time that Nasib Shah of Bengal, fearing an attack from Humayun, sent pre-sents to Bahadur Shah (Tab.III/444-45) for securing his aid. Malik Marjan, the envoy of Nasib Shah, had an interview with Sultan Bahadur at Mandu and was honoured with a special robe of honour (Tab.III/445; Farishta IV/352).

(14) Mirat.,p.178. This attempt at peace by the Rana is mentioned neither in Tab. nor Farishta. Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.244) does not mention the terms.

(15) Mirat.,p.178. Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.244) simply says that these terms were rejected.

(16) ibid.,p.178.

(17) Tatar Khan might have reached Chittor in the beginning of Dec.1532 A.D., as can be inferred from the fact that the siege of Chittor lasted for more

than three months (Tab.III/369) and came to an end in March 1533 A.D.(Mirat.,p.179).

(18) Mirat.,p.178.

(19) ibid.,p.179.

(20) Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi (Quoted in Mirat.,p.179).

(21) Mirat.,p.179.

(22) Farishta IV/73-74. Oza(Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas,I/396) and Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.50) interpret this as a request for help as sending "Rakhi" by Karmeti to Humayun.

(23) ibid,,IV/74.

(24) cf. Gulbadan Begam: Humayun,p.117.

(25)Farishta IV/74.

(26) Tab.III/369.

(27) Mirat.,p.179.

(28)The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227.

(29) Nensi I/54.

(30) Mirat.,p.179.

(31) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227; Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.244; Mirat.i Sikandari,p.179. Tab.(III/369) and Farishta (IV/125) hold that the Rana himself proposed these terms. Nensi (I/54) refers to these negotiation but is silent about the party which initiated them.

(32) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/227.

(33) Nensi I/54.

(34) Mirat.,p.179. Farishta (IV/124) and Tab.(III/369) do not mention the exact figures of the horses, elephants and the ready cash paid by the Sisodias to Bahadur Shah. Farishta further does not mention the crown though Tab. speaks separately about the cap and the crown.

(35) Mirat-i Ahmmadi,p.244.

(36) ibid.,p.245.

(37) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.179.

(38) ibid.,pp.183-84; Tab.III/368-69; Farishta IV/123.

(39) Mirat.,p.180.

(40) Nensi I/54.

(41) Mirat.,pp.179-80. Farishta (IV/124) puts this event in 1533-34 A.D. Tab.(III/369) does not give its year or date.

(42) Mirat.,p.180.

(43) ibid.,p.180. Though Tab. and Farishta do not refer to the conquest of Ranthambhor by Bahadur they mention it ~~as being~~ in the hands of the Sultan on III/370 and IV/123 respectively. However, it should be noted that, according to Farishta (IV/123) the attack on Ranthambhor was made after the fall of Gagrun in May 1532 A.D.

(44) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/229.

(45) Mirat.,p.180. His camp reached Mandu on April 1533A.D.

(46) Vansha Bhaskar, Mayukh 183,verse 61.

(47) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 82(b); Kavi Rao's Kavitta Vikramdit eur Udai Singh ra (Appendix T), verse 4.

(48) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 82(b)

(49) ibid, leaf 83(a)

(50) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 5.

(51) Nensi I/54.

(52) cf. Mirat.,p.139.

(53) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

(54) ibid.,leaf 84(a); Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix), verse 7.

(55) Nensi I/55.

(56) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 6.

(57) cf. ibid., verse 6 and Mirat-i Ahmadi, p.247.

(58) Raval Rana ki Vat, leafes 84(a).

(59) Kavi Rao, Kavitta (Appendix T), verse 8.

(60) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

(61) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix), verse 11.

(62) cf. ibid.,verse 12.

(63) cf. ibid.,verse 13.

(64) cf. ibid.,verse 14; Nensi I/34.

(65) Kavi Rao. Kavittas, verse 15.

(66) cf. ibid., verse 17.

(67) cf. ibid.,verses 8,10. Most of the persons referred to by Nensi (I/55) would have collected by this time.

(68) ibid., verse 8.

(69) ibid., verses 8,9.

(70) The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/226.

(71) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b).

(72) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verse 9.

(73) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b).

(74) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verses 10-17.

(75) Vanshavali 872,p.133. Al Badaoni (I/453) and The Arabic History of Gujarat (I/226) vaguely hint about this battle.

(76) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b); Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verse 16.

(77) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, verse 18.

(78) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

(79) ibid, leaf 85(b); The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/230.

(80) It is said that the siege ended on either March 3,

1535 A.D. (Vanshavali 872,p.133) or Feb.27,1535 A.D. (Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a)) or March 8,1535 A.D. (Akbar Nama I/301) after a ~~siege~~ duration of 3 months (Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 87(a)). So it would have began in Dec.1534 A.D.

(81) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/230; Mirat.,p.185.

(82) Mirat.,p.185.

(83) The asylum to Muhammad Zaman Mirza (Tab.III/369; Al Badaoni I/452; Mirat.,p.180; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/294; Farishta IV/124; Akbar Nama I/294), refusal to extradict him to the Mughals or expel him from Gujarat (Mirat.,p.181; Farishta IV/124; Akbar Nama I/294), writing rude letters to Humayun (Mirat., pp.181-84), etc.,

(84) Mirat.,pp.186; Tab.III/380-81,II/48; Farishta II/74, IV/125; Akbar Nama I/299; Gulbadan Begam: Humayun Nama,p.129; Al Badaoni I/457.

(85) Mirat.,p.186.

(86) Humayun Nama,p.186.

(87) Mirat.,p.186.

(88) Akbar Nama I/300.

(89) Farishta IV/126; Jauhar: Private Memoirs of Emperor Humayun (Stewart Tr.),p.4.

(90) Farishta IV/126.

(91) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/238.

(92) Al Badaoni I/453; Farishta II/75-6,IV/126;Tab.II/49, III/371-72.

(93) Tab.II/49,III/372; Farishta II/75-6; Akbar Nama I/301.

(94) Tab.II/49,III/372.

(95) Tbid.,II/49,III/372; Farishta II/75.

(96) Tab.II/49,III/372.

(97) Al Badaoni I/453-54.

(98) Mirat.,p.186.

(99) Akbar Nama I/301.

(100) Jauhar: Private Memoirs of Emperor Humayun,p.4.

(101) Vanshavali 828,leaf 63(b); Vanshavali 872,pp.128-29; Vanshavali 878,leaf 68(a). This event is wrongly interpretated by Tod (I/365) as sending of Rakhi by Karmeti to Humayun.

(102) Sri Ram Sharma: The Religious Policy of the Mughals, p.10.

(103) Farishta IV/126.

(104) Mirat.,p.187; Tab.II/48.

(105) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a). According to a tradition in Mewar, whenever the fort of Chittor was in danger of falling in the hands of some enemy, the guardian-deity of the fort was to be propitiated through the blood of some one wearing the royal umbrella over his head (Tod, op. cit.,I/378). The sons of Padmani wore crown and died next day in the battlefields under similar circumstances in I Saka of Chittor (ibid,I/310).

(106) Yogiraj: Hari Pingal Prabandh (See Appendix U(I). In virtue of this coronation of Bagh Singh, his descendants are called "Devalia Diwan".

(107) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a).

(108) Nensi I/94. ~~These villages were in Badi Sadari~~. There names are:

Bhimal, Dharna, Godhiya, Bijhana, Bisola, Baliya, Thahasana, Charan Khedi, Khar Devala, Bharki and Suali (Nensi I/94)

(109) Raval Rana ki Vatan, leafes 86(a)-(b).

(110) ibid.,leaf 85(b). The mine was run under the supervision of Lakheri Khan Firangi (ibid.,leaf85(b))

(111) ibid.,leaf 85(b).

(112) ibid.,leafes 85(b)-86(a). See also Nensi (I/55) which says that Arjun died in the Second Saka and not by the blowing up of the wall. Surprisingly "Surjan-charitra" written about 25 years after this event does not mention this event amongst the exploits of the ancestors of Rao Surjan.

(113) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a).

(114) ibid.,leaf 86(a).

(115) ibid.,leaf 86(a), informs us that a very fierce fighting took place on this occasion.

(116) ibid.,leaf 87(a).

(117) Tab.III/372.

(118) Nensi I/55; Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a); Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a).

(119) Nensi I/55.

(120) ibid.,I/55. The presence of these ladies in the fort is an additional evidence of the Ranas having left Chittor during the siege.

(121) Rathoran ri ~~Khyat~~ Vanshavali, leaf 39(a); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 116.

(122) Raval Rana ki Vatan, leaf 86(b). Some of these jumped from the ramparts and many drowned themselves (ibid., leaves 86(b)-87(a)). About 7,000 died by opium (Nensi I/55).

(123) Nensi I/55; Raval Rana ki Khyat, leaf 86(b).

(124) Kavi Rao, Kavittas, Appendix T, verse 19.

(125) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a).

(126) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 21. Oza (Raj. Iti.,II/1285) says that he died at Bhairavapol.

(127) Oza, op. cit.,II/1182. See also Kavi Rao: Kavittas, Appendix T, verse 21.

(128) ibid.,II/1207. See also Kavi Rao, verse 21.

(129) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(b). Vanshavali (leaf 54(b) Vanshavali 872 (p.134), and Vanshavali 878 (leaf 68(a)) mention Duda and Chandra Bhan (alias Dodiya Bhan). The name of Bhala Singh Ajjawat is mentioned by Nensi (I/55).

(130) Nensi I/55. Rawat Satta is mentioned in Vanshavali 872 (p.134) and Vanshavali 878 (leaf 68(b)). The name of Panchayan Pawar is given by Jada Mahada in Sardul Parmar ka Yuddha, verse 9 and Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1626.

(131) Vanshavali 828, leaf 54(b); Vanshavali 872,p.134; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(b). According to the Rathoran ri Khyat (leaf 36(a)) Devidas Rathor s/o Rao Suja of Marwar died in this Saka.

(132) He jumped from the wall of the fort and died (Vanshavali 828, leaf 54(b); Vanshavali 872,p.134; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a)).

(133) Vanshavali 872, p.134. Raghodas appears to be a descendant of Karam Chand Pawar Pawar (cf. ~~Sahil-P~~ Sardul Parmar ka Yuddha, verse 9).

(134) Kavi Rao, Kavittas (Appendix T), verse 21.

(135) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(b).

(135A) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1006.

(136) Raval Rana ki Vatan, leaf 86(b).

(137) Nensi I/55.

(138) The place where Bagh fell is still commemorated by a memorial stone.

(139) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/238. The view of Mirat-i Ahmadi (p.248) that the fort surrendered this time is absolutely wrong.

(140) Tab.III/372.

(141) Nensi I/55.

(142) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(b); Tab.II/49.

(143) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 72(b) There is no unanimity amongst the authorities about the date of the fall of Chittor in the hands of Bahadur Shah. Vanshavali 872 (p.133) gives March 3, 1535 A.D. (Chaitra Krishna 30,1591 V.S.) and Vanshe Akbar Nama (I/301) gives March 8,1535 A.D. All other authorities are silent about the date of this event. However, there is an indirect clue. 14 days after the fall of Chittor to Bahadur Shah, the Sultan left Chittor to oppose Humayun (Rawal Rana ki Vat,leaf 86(a) The armies of Humayun and Bahadur stood before each other in the district of Mandsaur for a period of about 2 months (Al Badaoni I/454; Farishta II/76,IV/127; Tab.III/373). Then on April 25,1535 A.D. Bahadur fled his camp (The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/240, 249; Akbar Nama I/303). Thus a period of about two months and a half passed between the fall of Chittor and the flight of Bahadur Shah from Mandsaur. If March 8,1535 A.D. be accepted as the date of the fall

of Chittor, the date of the flight of Bahadur would be in the fourth week of ~~April~~ May which conflicts with the date given by Abul Fazl and the Arabic History of Gujarat. The same is true of the date given by Vanshavali 872, according to which the date of the flight of Bahadur would be in the third week of May. If the two-month period of the stay of Bahadur before the Mughal army be not taken literally, Feb.27,1535 A.D. fits better in this scheme than the other two dates. One copper-plate (Chief Commissioner Office, Udaipur, Register entry no.258: See Appendix U(II)), dated March 28,1536 A.D. also refers to this event on Vikrami tithi Chaitra Krishna 11, the date given in Vanshavalis 872 and 878. Even if this copper-plate were spurious about the grant of land, at least it testifies to the tradition in Mewar about the date of the Saka, which took place on Chaitra Krishna 11, 1591 V.S., i.e., Feb.27,1535 A.D.

(144) Tab.II/49.

(145) ibid.,II/49; Farishta II/126.

(146) Mirat.,p.185; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/229.

(147) Mirat.,p.187.

(148) cf. ibid.,p.187. Rawal Rana ki Vat (leaf 86(a)) gives his name as Bahoaim Khan Balakhi, i.e., Burhanulmulk Bayani.

(149) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 86(a).

(150) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/239.

(151) Tab.III/372,II/49-50; Farishta II/76,IV/126; Akbar Nama I/301.

(152) Tab.II/49-50,III/372; Farishta IV/126. Abul Fazl (I/

301) says that Humayun was at that time at Ujjain, while Mirat.(p.188) holds that he moved from Gwalior. It appears that after or about the time of the fall of Chittor, Humayun moved from Sarangpur to Ujjain, and when Bahadur left Chittor to oppose him, he also proceeded to meet him from Ujjain.

(153) Tab.III/372,616; Al Badaoni I/454; Farishta II/76, IV/126; Gulbadan: Humayun Nama,p.131; Akbar Nama I/301. Mirat.(p.188) purports to say that they met somewhere near Chittor.

(154) Tab.II/50,III/372-73; Farishta II/76,IV/127; Mirat., p.188; Akbar Nama I/302. Abul Fazl adds the name of Taj Khan with Sadr Khan while Farishta does not mention even the name of Sadr Khan.

(155) Tab.III/373.

(156) Mirat.,p.188.

(157) Al Badaoni I/454; Farishta II/76,IV/127;Tab.III/373.

(158) Farishta IV/127; Tab.III/372.

(159) Farishta II/76; Tab.III/373.

(160) Tab.II/51,III/373; Farishta II/76,IV/127; Mirat.,p.188 Al Badaoni I/454; The Arabic History of Gujarat I/240.

(161) Mirat.,p.188; Tab.II/51; Al Badaoni I/454.

(162) Mirat.,p.189; The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/232; Akbar Nama (I/303) speaks about the bursting of guns only

(163) Tab.II/51,III/374; Farishta II/76-7,IV/127;Mirat., p.189; Akbar Nama I/303; Al Badaoni I/454.

(164) Al Badaoni I/454.

(165) Pathu Shah ki Bavadi Inscription (Rampura: Pub. Nagari Pracharini Patrika,VII/4),verse 9.

(165a) The Arabic History of Gujarat,I/240,249;Akbar Nama I/303.

(165b) Tab.II/51,III/374; Farishta II/77,IV/128.

(166) Mirat.,p.189; Farishta IV/128.

(167) Mirat.,p.1197.

(168) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 87(a)

(169) Nensi (MS), leaf 87(a). This fact is not found in the translation.

(170) A Hur Patra from the collection of Motul Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur. For "Hur Patras" see Tiwari: Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi",IHQ XXX/4/316 n.25.

(171) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 88(a)-(b). For the text of this piece See Appendix W.

(172) Nensi I/53-4.

(173) Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a); Vanshavali 872,p.135; Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a).

(174) Akbar Nama (I/321) says, "By good luck he (Humayun) came up with them (the followers of Asakari) near Chittor" However, Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.57) holds that this time Humayun entered into the fort.

(175) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 88(b)-89(a).

(176) cf. Tab.III/346.

(177) Rajavali (without pagination).

(178) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(a): See Appendix W.

(179) Rajavali (without pagination).

(180) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(a).

(181) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(b); Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a).

(182) cf. Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(b).

(183) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(b).

(184) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(b); Vanshavali 872,p.135; Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a).

(185) Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a); Rajavali also says that Banavir got Vikramjit killed.

(186) Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,p.135; Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(a).

(187) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 89(a)-(b).

(188) ibid.,leaf 89(a); Rajavali (without pagination); Udaipur ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat,leaf 16(b).

(189) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(b).

(190) Rajavali (without pagination); Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 89(b). Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat (leaf 16(b)) says that it was the foster father of Udai Singh who saved the life of ~~h~~-w his ward by sacrificing his own son.

(191) Rajavali (without pagination); Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 16(b).

(192) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 89(b)-90(a).

(193) Rajavali (without pagination); Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 92(b).

(194) Mewar ka Aitihas, item 228; Papers from the collection of late Shri Motilalji Shrotriya; Vanshavali 828, leaf 62(a); Vanshavali 872,p.136.

(195) Vanshavali 828, leaf62(b)~~a~~.Sisod Vanshavali (item 22 gives the round figure of three-quarters and two yrs

(196) Surya Vansha, leaf 51(a).

(197) Vanshavali 828,leaf 63(a); Vanshavali 878,leaf 69(a).

(198) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki ~~Pidhiyaun~~ Khyat, leaf 2(b). The maiden of d/o Rao Ganga was Hai Kumar (Bankedan ki Aitihaskk Vatan, item 118).

(199) Nensi I/55.

~~(200) Pub. Vir Vinod II/55.~~

(201) William Wilfrid Webb: Currencies of Rajputana,p.7.

(202) Journal of Numismatic Society of India XVI/II,pp. 284-85.

(203) Tiwari: A Coin of Maharana Vikramajit of Mewar, ibid, XVIII/I.

(203) Pub. Vi vinod II/55

(204) Vanshavali 872,p.132.

(205) Vanshavali 872,pp.135-36.

(206) Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a).

(207) Surya Vansha, leaf 51(a)

(क्रम)

(कवित विक्रमादीत और उदयसिंह जी का सु कवि रचियता)

सिग्राम रान कीरवान बल अपवान हिदवान थपि
भंज साह महमंद राज ईडर राय भानह
सजी भाला हलवद्द अजाअजमेर सु थानंह
थपकि भारि रणथंभ अली सत सलह सोपर
चंदेरी चक्रसेन बंटिया दल खीची घर
स्याहबाद धंधयां जीगन रिख विक्रम गढ पावा सुरूपि।।१।।
रतन जतन बिन रोख मे रहे रान चहुवान
दस बावन को एक दिन लेखो लाभ लिखान।।२।।
अठयासा पन्द्रह समत (१५८८) विक्रम तखत विराज
चटी रोष ओ चट कुरष कीनो काज अकाज।।३।।
पहलवान पायक प्रबल रिख ढिंग बाना बंध
सरमी भरमी मर सकुचित धरा भार जिन कन्ध।।४।।
मेना घेना तरहटी घेली चले इक दोस
गढते नाहिन उतरे खट रूपी सो।।५।।
गई मुंड वांत अधि अध रात
सुनी साह तांत खुसि फुलि गात
कहे चेन ब्रत सुभट विरत
चित बप्प बेर दीनी दीन फेर
कर काव चूरी भ्रम्यो भीख मुरी
वित पारि लीन कुवान बहीन
कलाही कीन कल काहि दीन
अफस साव जोर परयो बीच धोर
वहर जोय काना दफफ फराना
रही घात घात रही अखी यात
करी सोय कजि पिता बेर लीजे
कीये सद्दसदी मुसद्दी मुसद्दी
ऐते देस थान लिख्यो फुरमान।।६।।

बाणु लाख भीभाड डोडे चमाल बीज जल
खानदेश बराड विग्रह हालार विद्रव थल
गोडवान ओडव स्हाहे सेती भी जाने
धार ऐती धाईये देस आमंद फुरमान
हय गय भु साज पाखर सरस बाल बहादर नर लिये
लख अघ सद निसान नद भेदपाट पर चढीये।।७।।
लखी उकील ने लीडीयो साही भालव दल सुभीय
चितरंगी उपरा विसर निसान सवजीय
कीये कूंच पर कूंच चाय चामल उतरिया
सुनी खबर गढ फजर रान विक्रम सामरिय
कीने नीशान लटतीश सत बाना बंधा बीरद वीय
पखर तुरंग मातंग मद नीमच दस मीलान दीय ।।८।।
जीरन धार मिलान रस सुरताण मिलान
खत खंभ रुपिय जीत बागी जेतान
खमक घोर निशान धाक गिरपाय धरनीय
तमकी तोप छुटीय आग लागी अंगनीय
फोटीय कान सबद हई बान धार लूटिय
ऊठीयो धोम छायो अरन कायर चरन विछुटिय।।९।।
देखत दल दीवण के चल चल अचले पाय
रहे न ढिन को राण के रावत रावल राय।।१०।।
छोटी छोटी मुन्दरी अधिक जा राव सो भी सटके दम्पती राव।।११।।
पानफूल के लेते भोग सो भी सटके राव असोग।।१२।।
घोडू चढी फेरते भाला सो भी सटके सज्जा झाला।।१३।।
बांक कटे को करते डाव सो भी सटके कम्मा राव।।१४।।
भेदपाट के पाट कहाव सो भी सटके आसकन राव ।।१५।।
हाथी चढे राखते बाना सो भी सटके सांगा सुत राना।।१६।।
अनमी कंध के बिद बोलावत सो भी सटके खेता रावत।।१७।।

माडवी चित्रग गंग जीरन धार मंडीय
बदली दल समान रान रन खेत स छंडिय
उसरी कोट गह ओट चोट चहुवे दिस चिनीय
गोरी साह नरेष जेनदिन अठ स किनिय
दलदली द्रग चल चल अचल दहली बीक उतरी सढीय
धारी छत्र बीरद सिर बाधिके कामेती साक चढीय।।१८।।
राघो सत्रसाल दूस सो प्रोहित देवी दास
बरछिन उपर कूदिके कीनो जुध बजास।।१९।।
त्रीय सहस तिन सुर वाय मै कुंप अनंत परीय
मा बीकम मंत्रवी कीन साको खगन जुरि
सत सहस्त्र कर सुभट विकट भट्ट थट स चंडीय
पहर तीन लारे प्रले सिरे चित्रकोट समन्डीय
उडि बोम धोम छायो अरन रत धारती चल उतरीय
बहेलिय बुलखी रख्खी गढ बाहादुर भांड फरिय।।२०।।
राम पोल जलाल रहे नाथावत रखिय
सगर चोर आमली सूर सूरज कीय रखीय
सिंघ सजा सिर बलु राम तेह ठाम सर ढीय
धंधेर्या रनधीर धारपति धीर स बढिय
डोडिया मान असमान अरि मदारा जंगन जुरीय
अजन खोह की बुरज उडी खेत खीह खंगु खिरीय।।२१।।
बंको गढ चितोर को सुन्यो हमाऊ कान्ह
वचन चित समारी के कीयो निसान निसान।।२२।।
बंगाले की विजय हक कीनीय हमाऊ
असी सहस ऐहाक बंदी मलव सिर धाउ
असी सहस के सत सहंस मद गलत मिलत चतुरंग सपीलिय
कीये कूंच पर कूंच मुगल पठानो मिलिय
चो दिवस जुध बिरुध हुव रवबरीन व्हे जीनत मरत
निस जुमा साहि मालव गदयो पंच सहंस मीरड परत।।२३।।

गह लीनो सुलतान साहि मालव ढिलीय पति
सो बीतग बतयो ज्योही चीतोर पेहल बित
सब समाज गह बात जिहाज भरि दरिया बोरीय
भगज बंध दुरगंध बिधुरि विलासी जोरीय
काली बलाय सोबे सरखी भेदपाट दिस कूच कीय
विक्रम बुलाय बोहो दीहते छत्र तखत चितोर दिया।।२४।।
गोढि ढिलि ढिलेस रान विक्रम गढ राजेह
भेद पाट महिदी दीप सातु जस छाजेह
अह अलक हनि बंक सेंक बिन गढ मोशि लेह
हास विलास हुलास तरक नव नवीस चलह
चहुवान पोवार बदलिके हनी विक्रम बनबीर ढली
छल बल करे उदय कढयो मद पाट दलेस भमी।।२५।।
धरी छवरा पतरा दबटी दीनो कोट निकार
पूठि [illegible] लग्गी वे लीनो वन्दी समार।।२६।।
दे बदले सुत आपको उछल काढि [illegible] अछग्गा
धन धन हीयोस धाय को सम धरम के भग्गा ।।२७।।
सिंघ गयो सिठाय गिरपुर आसकरन
माखर पाय न गाहि वढि सिर कुंभगिरतं
मिल्यो नाह नर नाह ताह पानी मुख दिख
स्याम धरम कुछ करम सरम छित्रवट की रखं
कस बाब नेक पायर बनि सुभर वचन मंजन करेहे
देपुरा घरां दीवान की आन सबै गढ मे फीरीय॥२८।।
बरस पंच पर पंच
गने गने गढने नंगर गृह चरया येम चव
सुनि खबर चितोर चित बनवीर विचारे
कुंरि व्याय दल गहि गढते पनक नीकारे
मेवाद निपट मंडे कपट बट खोटी गहेई
हनी मृत उमे कर आप दिग कोचही कहेई।।२९।।

परिशिष्ट (~~एक~~ T)

संहस अघ नाकिह डोढ से असी खखार
पटनते चितोर सथ गोलचा हजार
चढि आये जालोर पुरी नारद उतरीय
भेलि सथ सम सथ देवसुरी जुद्ध करीय
चहुवान चोड चालक सीधल बालिसा समरीय
दे खबरी कुंप मारु कटक सानिग धान वल जीय।।३०।।
चढे ~~खबरी~~ उदेसी रान खान साई दास जगा मिल
सांगा सांवत सोढ दूजा आसा सुजा भल
कुंप अंखा पृथ्वीराज करन जेता लूणकन
मुंदे सुर भुरधारा मिले नाडोल उदे दिन
करम सीह चारन कवि जालोर राय सथह दिनह
मिलि वीर मेवार यत बनवीर हंत जंगह किनह।।३१।।
छूटि बान कुबानचमकी किरबान चमाचम
धमकी बरछी नधान भलक जवान गमागम
करक कायर नवार पार खंचर पंचर पर
मदन सीह महापाल तुहि तिल तलटी धरनी पर
सय तीन मृत सथह परग परिग अधिप रह धारे
गुलवार करी जे पाल तन करीन कोय ऐसी करे।।३२।।
बंटन अघ दोई सथ तिया ऐस तीखन
कंम्भ गिरा भुर धारा बानी पेचान वचन छीन
बंटि लियो धान अघ दीघ नालेर ने सथे
तुरंग सुरंग खरवार कुंवरि कमला न सथे
करि ब्याह बाजि नो बति बदति मंडप रच पाली सुधार
चढि लेह चीतोर गढ चढि आवे ईन ढीलन करीर।।३३।।
मिलि मारु मेवार बीस हजार बहादर
माहोली वरीयाम राम चालक बीरबर
तोवर कोवर सिग सेहस दस सजे बिकट
करि हक चक उदोत मे अकबक लग्गे अरस
छ छोह छीछल के छयल पहल किलो कीनो सरस।।३४।।

परिशिष्ट(T)

बालक पग नही चल्यो खगधार छिनाछिन
तोंवर कटि धार मिल्यो मिल्ये दल भीर जिन
जुरे मे के भिरे फरि नह सत असतह
फतेपाय उदेसीह जीती उमा पर विजय
बजे नीसान खुमान जे सुत सीग्राम गरजीयो
ऊगीयो अकच पहूं पृथ्वी सिर अरि तिमिर भर भजयो।।३५।।
चिरत यक धार दिस्ट ईन्द मुदयो नैनन किय
तुरीय मगह बहे वसम उतावरो धाये
कनक बरन कजेर सिघ स्यारन संग पावे
भनिराय साहि संग्राम सुव उदयस्यंघ दुजन दवन
भृंगम,भुयंग ,हरि,हंस,ससि,पंच यक कारन कवन।।३६।।
भंजि भला तिन जुद्ध गाहि ताणो हे पाय
देशपति गणपति पृथीसह लागी पाय
तीस सहस असवार फर पेदल अपार
चित्रकोट दिस चलेही सज मघ वाघन सार
कुंजर पति बद्ध भंति वनि खहन सेह असि खुहि खुर
संग्राम सुतन कविराय भनि,छत्र चंवर सोभाय सिर।।३७।।
सभिक आयो खि रान गयो बणवीर उतरी गढ
अवधिपुरी अवधेस बीजेयम बुरधस तखत मंडि
गया घूमरी निसान हर पटी न सींगारेह
पोरि पोरी तोरनन कलस विवद वधु वसन संवारे
जय हेम पुनि वोहो दान वद्ध कवि सजन मोटेस करि
सीग्राम सुव कविराय भनि उदयस्यंघ चित्रंग वर।।३८।।
गाजि वीर बनवीर मीरमीरा खां सजीय
बंदेरी जालोर सिव चंपा गण संघीय
रिन थम्भोर अजेय सेव सेवे गज बंधीय
भनि राय रान सीग्राम सुव खग्ग पोन असुरान हवि
उग्यो चित्र सिर छत्र पति उदयसिह हिन्दवान रवि।।३९।।

:संपूर्ण:

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ,उदयपुर

परिशिष्ट (क)

:: संपूर्ण ::

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर।

वक्ता: आशिया सावल दान जी चारण कवि।

नोट:

इस कवित के और भी २ निम्नलिखित पद स्व. श्री मोती लाल जी श्रोत्रिय एम. ए. के संग्रह से प्राप्त हुवे है।

तुरी तेज परहरई कमल मुकलित मय ऊतह
गयन इन्हु उगमव ईस विलखान चितमंह
सिघ किमे दुमना गिद्ध मय चंचन मिलई
हिरन डंग दुबला काग कलियल फुलई
मनि राय रान संग्राम सुव उदयसंघ विवतनयन।।१।।

जुते जुरिग जुमान सूर सामंत हनिगरिन
तिधार धारनि धुकि परिग इंस संगुहिग सीस खिन
जक ले गुंथय माल चंद हरहर हंसि मह
अमी बूंद कर परिग भरम ऊपज्यउ ऐक तहां
मनि राय रान संग्राम सुव उदय संघ असि रस रवन
अहि गंग गवरी विदुरि वलय हर विलसि कारन कवन।।२।।

Appendix 'U' (I) :

वीकम राणा आलोच कीध, वेराव वाघ फरमाण दीध
चीतौड माह चीतौड राण कीधा अुछाह छात्रीश वंश
दल कोट शानवज वाघ राण, मलावी लाज .....
बोपे वाघ हाथल अुमार, चीतौड कोट मेा कण्ड हान
पुह वाघ ताणा शाथल वचन्न , गयणाग, विलागेा राण मन्न
मेवाड राण अुर धरि अमस ,पर छेव वाघ सेणाधिपत
मेघाण अुमर शिर छरि छात, पांधत वा मन्न मानव मात

.. योगिराज विरचित 'हरि पिंगल प्रबंध '

(आशिया श्रीसावलदानजी चारण कवि, अुदमपुर, की कृपा से प्राप्त)

Appendix 'U' (II) :

श्रीरामः ।।

।। सिधि श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।।
।। श्रीअेकलिंग प्रसादादात् ।।

माला
सही

लाअीन १ ... ।। महराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री वि
.. २ ... ।। क्रमादितजी आअी श्री करमेती हाडी
.. ३ ... ।। जा बोहर पैरता हुअे १ अेक अुदकरी
.. ४ ... ।। दीध १ तिवाडी ठाकर नेा नाति गुज -
.. ५ ... ।। र गौड गुनारडया ने दीधेा दूवा अित पं
.. ६ ... ।। चाली जेसंघ प्रति दूवे श्रीराणी करमे -
.. ७ ... ।। ती बाअी अहजूरी । धरती हुअे अेक री
.. ८ ... ।। पुर माहे दीधी ।। श्लेक ।। स्वदत्तं परदत्तं
.. ९ ... ।। वा ।। ज्यो हसंति वसुधरा ।। षष्टि वस सह -
.. १० ... ।। भाणि विष्टयां जायते क्रिमः ।। १

...

Appendix V (II):(Contd...)

लाअीन ११ ... ।। संवतं १५९२ वर्षे चैत्र मासे क्रश्न पणे अे
,, १२ ... ।। कादशी बुधवारे चित्रकोट माहे
,, १३ ... ।। दीधे ।। सुभं भवत् ।।

(नोट - चैत्र कृष्णा ११, १५९२ वि. को. शनिवार था बुधवार नही)

Appendix V

'' सवत् १५९१ जेठ सुद २ रे दिन (~~विक्र~~ विक्रमादित)चीतोड बसाअी
।।३३ ।।

.. पं. नाथूलालजी व्यास ,अुदयपुर,के संग्रह से प्राप्त.

Apprndix 'W' :

''पातिसाह हमाअु मांडुरी फत्ते करने अुठे थाणो घेलेने मुगला है मेले आप चितोड चढया । ने गढ सारो ही देख्यो देखने कह्यो राणा कहा है जदी खबर कराअी भाट पदमसाह अरज कीधी सो हजरत सलामत दीवाणजी तो बुंदी है जदी बूंदी थी दीवाणजी न अुरा बुलाया राणा विक्रमादितजी है तरवार बंधाअी । गढ मे पाछा गादी बैठाया । देस मे अमल कराये ने बादशाह पाछा दली गया । तठा पछे फैरेने विक्रमादितजी असी टगी पकडी सो रजपूता सुं मसफरी ठेकरी गाडी । रावत खॉनरा माथां अुपरे नारदो छोडायो । मूत स भराअे मेलतो थो ने दरीखाने बैठा करमचंदजी पुवार रे नीक अुरे टपोरला री दीदी । जदी करमचंदजी चमके- अुठया । जदी खान रावत बोल्या ठाकरां फुल सुंग्या । जद करमचंदजी बोल्या सो फुलतो सुंग्या पिणवा सकाले आवसी । अुत्तरे कहे ने दरीखाने थी अुठे बैठा हुवा ने वर्णवीर सु कागल बाअी कीधी । कागला मील्या जदी वणवीर कह्यो सो ठाकुरा आवतं वडी है नी आप मोहे जाणो हो हू खवासण रो हूं जदी करमचंदजि बोल्या मे करागा ज्यो सरे हुवेगा या थाप कीधो ''

.. रावल राणा की वात पत्र ८८ अ -८९ ब.

CHAPTER IX

MAHARANA BANAVIR

(1535 - 1541)

Banavir, a natural son of Prithviraj[1] (the eldest son of Rana Raimal) and Phulde[2], ascended the throne of Mewar after the assassination of Vikramjit either on July 12 or August 10,1535 A.D., the day following the murder of Vikramajit. Nothing is known about his early life. It is reported that he fought bravely against the combined forces of Gujarat and Malwa on behalf of Sanga[3]. He left Mewar and joined Bahadur Shah in the reign of Ratansi[4]. He was recalled to Mewar by the nobles after the reconquest of Chittor from the Gujarat garrison to assassinate Vikramjit[5]. He soon won the confidence of Vikramjit[6] and his brother-in-law Dakani (Daksha Singh) killed the Rana inspite of the opposition of Banavir[7]. The attempt of Banavir on the life of Udai Singh, immediately after the murder of Vikramjit, alienated many nobles from him[8]. However, they were too weak to oppose the usurper who had then the suppprt of the nobles like Karam Chand Pawar[9]. As we shall see below, the ~~reference to in the contemporary records to~~ presence of Basar, the Jain minister of Banavir, and ~~to~~ Chil Mehta, ~~in~~ the Jain commandant of Chittor, might prove that Banavir had the support of the Jains as well. The complicity of Duma Mehta in cattle-lifting during the reign of Vikramjit may be cited as an instance of the opposition of the Jains to him. However,

CHAPTER X.

MAHARANA UDAI SINGH.

CHILDHOOD OF UDAI SINGH:

The youngest son of Karmeti and Rana Sanga, Udai Singh was born on Sept. 30, 1522 A.D.[1] He was about six years old at the time of the death of Sanga in 1528 A.D. and lived with his uterine brother - Vikramjit in Ranthambhor for some time during the reign of their half-brother Rana Ratansi. Possibly, he also repaired to Chittor along with his brother Vikramjit when the latter reconciled with Rana Ratansi and lived in Chittor during the remaining period of the reign of the said Rana. Rana Vikramjit bestowed upon him the fief of Kumbhalner in cir. 1533 A.D. He was in Chittor at the time of the assessination of Vikramjit by Banavir in 1535 A.D. and owed his escape from the dagger of Banavir to the heroic sacrifice of Panna, his foster-mother, who had her own son killed in place of her ward. She managed to carry him to Kumbhalner in spite of several trying vicissitudes and tribulations. He remained in charge of Asuji Deopura in cognitio for 2-3 months and was installed in Kumbhal--ner as Maharana by the dissident nobles of Mewar on Jan. 7, 1536 A.D. at the age of 13. Udai Singh passed four years of adversity between 1536-40 A.D. in the bosom of the rugged cliffs of Kumbhalner and

was crowned in Chittor between July 3-6, 1541 A.D. by Asuji Deopura, Rawat Khan and others. He was then 18 years old.[2]

TASK BEFORE MAHARANA UDAI SINGH IN 1541 A.D.:

The condition of Mewar at the time of the coronation of Udai Singh in Chittor was not very envi--able. The Civil War had scarred the face of the country. Though Banavir did not lose any part of Mewar proper during his rule, he could not reconquer the neighbour--ing territories, lost during the reign of Vikramjit, except Mandsaur. Maldeo had occupied Ajmer.[3] Bundi in the east, Dungarpur[4] and Banswada in the south-east and Raisin in the north-east[5] had become independent of Mewar. Maldeo, through his conquest of the adjoining territories,[6] had succeeded in making Marwar the pre--mier state in Rajputana.[7] Though Bharmal of Idar, Rao Surtan of Bundi, Rawat Rai Singh of Devalia and Rathor Kumpa and Sonigara Akheraj, the lieutenants of Maldeo, had helped Udai Singh in recapturing Chittor f from Banavir, it was due to their moral obligication, to the son of the late Rana Sanga[8] or due to their personal attachment to Udai Singh on account of their personal relationship freeshly established with him (cf. Akheraj and Kumpa who had given their daughters in marriage to Udai Singh) than due to their political vassalage to Mewar. These states were yet to be brought under political subjection of Mewar. Added to this was the fact of moral paralysis consequent upon the

political changes which installed Udai Singh at, and banished Banavir from, Chittor. There were several nobles who had not sided with Udai Singh against Banavir during the Civil War (viz. Rao Singh Gahlot, Lunavats, etc.,) and their loyalty to the new Rana was superficial on account of the possibility of the return of Banavir. So the tasks before Udai Singh were (1) to reconquer the lost territories of Mewar, (2) to bring the lukewarm nobles under his control, and (3) to organise the state on a sound basis.

UDAI SINGH'S FIRST CLASH WITH RAO MALDEO OF MARWAR:

Soon after his accession Udai Singh got entangled into war with Maldeo. Jait Singh, the son of Jhala Sajja, had left Mewar earlier and joined Maldeo, who gave Jait Singh a jagir in Khairwa and got Swarupde, the daughter of Jait Singh, in marriage. Maldeo went to his father-in-law's place in 1514 A.D. and learnt about the beauty of the younger sister of Swarupde, Vir Bai.[10] Smitten by the superb beauty of this maiden and excited by his nobles, Maldeo asked for her hand which Jait Singh rightly refused. Jait Singh's plea was that he did not wish that his daughters should be each other's co-wives. Maldeo insisted and went to the extent of threatening Jait Singh to abduct the girl by force. Swarupde advised her father to agree and avoid the trouble for the time being. Jait Singh ostensibly agreed and pleaded his want of money as

an excuse for the postponement of the marriage for two months. Maldeo was pleased.[11] He gave Rs. 15,000/- to his father-in-law[12] and went to Jodhpur for coming back with a suitable marriage party. Soon after the depart--ure of Maldeo, Jait Singh sent word to Rana Udai Singh soliciting the Rana to come and marry Vir Bai.[13] Udai Singh, then possibly in Chittor, chose to be gallant and accepted the proposal which he must have known was a challenge to Maldeo. He proceeded to a village near Kumbhalner. Jai Singh also arrived there and the marr--iage took place under a baniyan tree[14]. Jait Singh gave Rs. 15,000 to the Rana in dowry.[15] Udai Singh returned to Kumbhalner with his bride[16]. Swarupde gave by mistake that box of ornaments as a marriage present which included among other things the image of the Rathor family deity - Naganechi Devi. Maldeo requested Udai Singh for the return of the image but Udai Singh refused.[17] The loss of his fiancee and the image of the family deity infuriated Maldeo extremely. The Rao occupied Nadol, Joja and Bisalpur. An attack on Kumbhalner soon followed in which the Rao was accompanied by Rathor Panchayan Karamsinghot, Rathor Bida, Bharmalot Balawat, etc.,[18] and 8,000 cavalry[19]. The attackers had almost succeeded in suprising the garrison in a night attack but the invaders were driven off by a last minute sally by the Sisodais. Maldeo returned disappointed to his capital,[20] berefted of all glory.[21] Udai Singh built a palace for Vir Bai in Kumbhalner ~~and gave~~ with it a lamp of its top. This lamp

had a cavity for accommodating one 'man' cotton-seeds. When lit, the light of this lamp could be seen for miles around, which teased Maldeo greatly.[22] The nobles which had encroached upon the state-lands were also suppressed about this time by Udai Singh.[23]

SHER SHAH'S INVASION OF MEWAR & UDAI SINGH'S RECONQUEST OF CHITTOR:

The asylum offered to Mallu Khan of Malwa and the nobles of Marwar by Udai Singh had been an eye-sore to Sher Shah[24]. So about April - May 1544 A.D. he left Ajmer for Chittor.[25] The position of Udai Singh was not strong enough to advise him either a pitched battle with Sher Shah or to attempt at the defence of Chittor in case the Afgans besieged it. Hence Udai Singh decided not to defend Chittor.

When the Afgan army was 24 miles from Chittor, possibly at Mandal, the keys of the fort of Chittor were surrendered to SherShah[26] by its commandant.[27] This no doubt left Sher Shah master of the plain between Ajmer and Malwa, which the fort commanded. Dr. Gopinath[28] and Dr. Sarkar[29] assert that Udai Singh submitted to Sher Shah at this time. If the surrender of the commandant of Chittor implies personal submission of the Rana to Sher Shah, it is clearly contradicted by Abul Fazl[30] and Niamatullah[31] who simply refer to the capitulation of the fort and not the submission of the Rana. Dr. Sarkar's contention, on the strength of Toda Raisingh Inscription of Sunday, Oct., 30, 1547 A.D.

(which mentions Udai Singh and Islam Shah Sur simul-
-taneously along with Ramchandra Seni)[32] that Udai Singh was a vassal of the Sur Emperors of Delhi, is a clearly unwarranted. His argument that two independent sovereigns are so far not found mentioned in any known inscription[33] can be contradicted by citing Rawat Bhana Cenetaph Inscription of Jiran[34](which mentions Akbar, Amar Singh and Rawat Bhana), Shtrunjaya Tirtha Inscription of Palitana[35](which mentions Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Rana Ratan Singh of Mewar) and Ranpura Jain Temple Inscription[36](which mentions Rana Kumbha and Sultan Muhammad of Gujarat).The reference to both Udai Sihgh and Islam Shah in Toda Reisingh Inscription, in the context of the circumstances of that period, proves that both these parties had claims upon that place. The mutual relations between the two rulers is not at all hinted at. Any way, it does not imply that Udai Singh had become a vassal of Sher Shah, though it may be conceded that Sher Shah held sway over areas which had once been under Udai Singh. In absence of any assertion by the Muslim historians about the personal submission of the Rana and in view of the clear statement of Amar-Kavya[37] about Udai Singh's remaining independent after Sher Shah's invasion, we should take for granted that Udai Singh escaped into the mountains and, as the Toda Raisingh Inscription tells us, ruled from - - Kumbhalner.

Sher Shah came to Chittor and appointed Shams Khan as its governor[38] with Mian Ahmad Sirwani and Hussain Khan Khilji to assist him.[39] During the

confusion in the early days of the rule of Islam Shah,[40] it appears that Udai Singh drove away the Afgan garri--son from Chittor. Toda Rai Singh inscription refers to Kumbhalner as the capital of Udai Singh. This means that upto Oct.,30, 1547 A.D., Chittor was not recon--quered from the Afgans. Islam Shah's letter[41] to Khawas Khan at Kumaun hills that the Rana had captured several imperial possessions, enslaved the wives and children of the Muslims and defeated all the armies sent against him, proves that Udai Singh took very bold and stern action against the Afgans after Oct.,30,1547 A.D.(the date of Toda Raisingh Inscription) and 1552 A.D., the year in which Khawas Khan died[42]. During this period the Battle of Pasanara, said to have been fought between Udai Singh and the Afgans,[43] possibly took place. In this battle Udai Singh suffered an injury by an enemy lance[43]. It is not unlikely, that after his victory at Pasavara[43], Udai Singh liberated Chittor.

UDAI SINGH'S PILGRIMAGE TO DWARKA:

In 1549 A.D.[44] Udai Singh undertook a pilgrimage to Dwaraka[45] to expiate for the death, at his hands, of his clansman Sisodia Bhan[46], possibly, during the siege of Tana[47]. Surjan Hada accompanied him[48]. The party appears to have entered into Gujarat via Banswada, where an engagement took place at Jagameru. Surjan performed wonderful exploits in this battle and was rewarded with the fied of Phulia which com--prised of 84 villages[49]. The party next proceeded to

Idar. Narayandas, the ruler of Idar, who had not so far offered his submission to Mewar, was reduced[50]. Some clashes with the Gujaratis are also reported during the journey of this party through Gujarat.[51] However, Udai Singh reached Dwarka safely. During his stay there he gave his weight in silver and some jewels in charity, and also donated some villages to the Brahmins, out of which one was Vir in Pur-Mandal district.[52] Suraj Hada, with the permission of the Rana built a new temple in place of an ordinary structure then existing.[53] After his bath in R.Gomati and visit to the shrine of Dwarkaesh, Udai Singh returned safely to Mewar,[54] an achievement, which coupled with his charities in Dwarka, greatly increased his fame.[55]

SUPPRESSION OF MALLA BHIL BY SURAJAN:

A dacoit chief named Malla (Mallik) Bhil occupied the stronghold of Tanapur. Udai Singh sent several expeditions against Malla but the Bhil chief remained unsubdued, occasioning much anxiety to the Rana.[56] Between 1543 A.D.[57] and 1554 A.D.[58] Surjan offered to vanquish this robber-chief and went to Tanapur with an army of 4,000, along with the son of late Arjun Hada. Malla was killed and Tanapur was conquered. Udai Singh bestowed Tanapur and the adjoining villages upon Surjan.[59] Subsequently Surjan got Badanor in lieu of Tanapur from Ex Udai Singh.[60]

CONQUEST OF BUNDI BY SURAJAN S/O ARJUN:

Rao Surtan of Bundi had become very unpopular with his subjects. Surjan had sought his safety with the

Rana against the designs of his cousin Rao Surtan[61]. Surtan got his two uncles imprisoned treacherously and had them blinded. Hada Sahasamal Santal, a great noble of Bundi, also received the punishment of getting blinded for no obvious reason than the displeasure of the Rao.[62] Fed up with his tyranny, his subjects invited Surjan[63] and the nobles of Bundi even requested help directly from Rana Udai Singh as well in driving out Surtan and seating Surjan on the throne.[64] This offered a welcome opportunity to Udai Singh to bring Bundi under the suzerainty of Mewar and also to avenge the blood of the late Rana Ratansi who had been killed by Rao Surajmal, the father of Rao Surtan.[65] Some soldiers from Bundi also joined Surjan.[66] Surjan with the knowledge of Udai Singh wrote back to the people, of Bundi demanding Rs. 20,000 for the military expenses. The sum was paid by his partisans in Bundi.[67] Now Udai Singh gave Suraj 1,000 soldiers to oust Surtan. Surjan marched upon Bundi and halted at Surathpur.[67] The partisans of Surjan in Bundi misrepresented to Surtan that the visit of Surjan to Bundi had no political motive[67]. He was simply paying a visit to the ancestral shrine of Raktadanta Devi.[67] They further advised Surtan to visit Patan to quell a rebellion ~~there~~.[67] When Surtan left Bundi the people of Bundi joined Surjan and opened the gates of the city to him. Surjan entered Bundi.[67] Surtan fled and Surjan became the ruler in 1554 A.D.[67] Some time after his accession, with the help of Udai Singh he conquered Kotah from the servants of the Sultan of Mandu.[68]

UDAI SINGH'S ATTEMPT TO CONQUER AJMER AND JAIMAL'S FIRST ARRIVAL IN MEWAR:

In the beginning of 1554 A.D.Islam Shah died.[69] Maldeo despatched Prithviraj Jaitawat of Bagadi to conquer Ajmer. The fort of Ajmer was besieged by the Rathors. Finding the defence of the fort impossible in face of the terrible Rathor onslaught, the Afgan Commandant of the fort of Ajmer offered to surrender it to Rana Udai Singh. Udai Singh moved out of Chittor with a large army. Jaimal of Merta and Kalyan Mal of Bikaner rallied round the Rana. Prithviraj could not risk an open engagement with the combined forces of the Afgans and the Sisodias. So he retired without any contest.[70] Ajmer was bestowed by the Rana upon Rao Sultan Ajjawat.[71] The Rana went upto Nagor, captured it and returned to Chittor.[72]

The failure of the Rathor arms at Ajmer went deep into the heart of Maldeo. He ventilated his anger on Rao Jaimal. Maldeo himself led the Rathors to attack Merta. Jaimal offered to submit provided he was retained in possession of Merta, which Maldeo refused[73]. Jaimal defeated Maldeo on April, 4, 1554 A.D.[74] and Prithviraj lost his life in helpigg Maldeo to escape to Jodhpur.[75] Some time after this defeat, Maldeo sent Devidas Jaitawat, the younger brother of Prithviraj, to attack Merta. An engagement took place on June 17, 1554 A.D. near Merta. Jaimal lost the field and was compelled to retire into the fort of Merta. Devidas besieged Merta. The siege continued for about a month.

During this time Rana Udai Singh, who was proceeding to Bikaner to marry the daughter of Rao Kalyanmal, hearing about this siege, came to Merta and arranged a truce for three days. During this period he entered into the fort[76] and persuaded Jaimal to surrender Merta to Maldeo. Jaimal agreed, Merta was surrendered to Maldeo and Jaimal accompanied Udai Singh to Bikaner. After his return to Chittor, Udai Singh bestowed ~~Bandi~~ Badnor on Jaimal.[77] ~~After~~ The bestowal of Badnor on Jaimal would have taken place after Surjan, its fief-holder, had got Bundi. Devidas had defeated Jaimal in the first week of June 1554 A.D. and the siege went on for one month. So in the second week of July, Jaimal would have surrendered Merta. Then he went to Bikaner and ~~then~~ returned along with Udai Singh to Chittor.[78] It was about Sept. 1554 A.D. that he would have received Badnor.

BATTLE OF MAHI RIVER:

In 1554 A.D.[79] Rana Udai Singh demanded some money, horses and elephants in tribute from Rawal Ashakaran (s/o Rawal Prithviraj) of Dungarpur.[80] Ashaka-ran refused at the instance of Savaldas and Karamsi.[81] The Rana sent an army under Jagga Chundavat of Amet to enforce his demand.[82] Dungarpur forces under Savaldas met the invaders at Jaitana on the bank of river Mahi.[83] Savaldas was defeated and killed.[84] Next day, Karamsi took the command of the Dungarpur forces.[85] Jagga, Dodiya Bhan, Bhavanidas (s/o Ballu Solanki), Rao Dur-garpur ~~fix~~ of Rampura, Sanyidas Chundawat, Kita,

Khithal participated in the contest with Karmasi on behalf of the Rana[86]. Karmasi[87] and Jagga died fighting bravely.[88]

The Vishnu Temple Inscription, Vaneswara: Dungarpur (dated May, 17, 1561 A.D.) of the reign of Rawal Ashakaran[89] holds that the forces of Dungarpur defeated the army of Mewar. Mehe Vithu[90] and Muhnot Nensi[91] refer only to this battle. Amar Kavya[92] says that Udai Singh forced Rawal Ashakaran to pay tribute to Mewar but does not refer to this battle specifically. Kaviraja Bankedan[93] says that Rawal Ashakaran was present in the Battle of Harmada in 1557 A.D. to fight on behalf of Udai Singh against Haji Khan Pathan and his ally Ras Maldeo of Marwar. Mehe Vithu[94] was openly charged that Rawal Ashakaran was pravailed upon by Savaldas and Karmasi to refuse the Rana's demands. So it appears that the Battle of Mahi river was thurst upon Ashakaran by his powerful ministers. The forces of Mewar were, possibly, defeated. Afterwards Udai Singh appears to have succeeded in persuading the Rawal to pay the customary tribute.[95] The Rawal, possibly, not per-sonally much in favour of opposing the Rana, also participated in the Battle of Harmada later on behalf of the Rana. The tradition in Mewar,[96] which attributes the participation of Pratap in this battle, is wrong. Pratap, born in May 18, 1540 A.D.[97], only 14 years old in 1554 A.D., was too young then to fight a battle.

SIROHI EPISODE:

Rao Udai Singh ascended the throne of Sirohi

in 1553 A.D.[98] and in 1554 A.D. expelled his cousin Man Singh from Lohiyana. Man Singh left Sirohi and joined Rana Udai Singh, who bestowed upon him 12 villages for maintenance. In 1555 A.D. news about the illness of Rao Udai Singh by small-pox was received secretly by Man Singh from the nobles of Sirohi. Soon Rao Udai Singh died, leaving no issue to succeed him. The nobles of Sirohi kept the news of the death of the Rao secret. Sahani Jaimal, who was commissioned to fetch Man Singh very soon to Sirohi, arrived at Kumbhalner. Man Singh, on learning about this death, made for Sirohi with only 5 horsemen. Three hours before dawn Man Singh reached Sirohi and stayed outside the city. Sahani Jaimal had already reached Sirohi by marching ahead and reported to the nobles x about the arrival of Man Singh. So before day-break all the nobles joined Man Singh and enthroned him in Sirohi.

When Udai Singh learnt about the departure of Man Singh from Mewar without leave, he asked Jagmal Devada, the head of Man Singh's camp, to sign a surr--ender deed of four districts of Sirohi on behalf of his master as fine. Jagmal agreed but next day he refused on the plea that he had no authority to sign away any part of Sirohi. Udai Singh ordered Jagmal to go to Sirohi and establish Sisodia military posts in these four districts. Jagmal assured the Rana that there was no need of any military action against Sirohi and that Man Singh would be persuaded to submit by simply sending a Purohit or any other person to Sirohi along with him. The Rana sent a Purohit ~~to Sirohi~~

to inform Rao Man Singh about the attachment of four districts of Sirohi. Man Singh offered to surrender tx the whole of Sirohi to the Rana, if the latter so desired. This pleased the Rana very much[99] and Sirohi was saved from dismemberment.

THE ARRIVAL OF HAJI KHAN IN RAJPUTANA:

Haji Khan Pathan the Afgan commander of Mewat[100] and a servant of Islam Shah Sur,[101] had molested Majnun Khan Qaqshal at Narnul on learning about the death of Humayun,[102] helped Hemu in expelling Tardi Beg from Delhi[103] and became independent ruler of Mewat after the Battle of Panipat.[104] Bairam Khan sent Pir Muhammad Sirvani, Hussain Khan and others to oust Haji Khan from Mewat.[104] Haji Khan left Mewat, without offering any opposition to the Mughals, with 5,000 horse, 150 picked elephants, other baggage and his family[105] towards Ajmer.[106] Maldeo sent Prithviraj Kumpavat in his pursuit to plunder his camp. Finding his position difficult, Haji Khan wrote shrewdly to Rana Udai Singh for help on the plea that he was Rana's dependent.[106] Udai Singh marched out with 5,000 soldiers to his aid at Ajmer. Surjan Hada, Rao Jaimal of Merta and Rao Durgabhan of Rampura joined the Rana. On the appearance of the Rana, Prithvi--raj was advised by his followers to retire. Prithviraj accepted it.[107] The Rana pressed on upto Merta, occupied it, installed Rao Jaimal there[108] and returned to Chittor. Haji Khan remained in the district of Ajmer.[109]

THE BATTLE OF NARMADA:

Soon afterwards Udai Singh appears to

have realised his mistake in helping Haji Khan who established himself in the district of Ajmer and thereby offered a convenient excuse to the Mughals to attack it on the ostensible pretext of expelling the Khan. So the Rana sent Balecha Suja and Tejsingh Dungarsinghot Udawat to Haji Khan to demand 40 'mans' of gold, his famous elephant Bhat,[110] and his accomplished dancer Rangarai as a ~~payment~~ price for the aid received by the Khan from the Rana against the Rathors[111]. All the nobles were against the demand for Rangarai but the Rana insisted.[112] Haji Khan pleaded his poverty[113] and refused to part with Rangarai on the plea that she was his wife.[114] The envoys returned disappointed.[115] No sooner had they left the Khan than did Haji Khan inform Maldeo about all these developments and sought his help against the Rana. Besides personal enmity, the temptation of occupying Ajmer prompted Maldeo to go to the aid of the Khan. The Rana also marched out against Haji Khan.[116] Maldeo sent a large force under Devidas Jaitwat, Jagmal Viramdevot, Rawal Meghraj Appawat, Jait Mal, Jaisinghot, Prithviraj Kumpawat, Mahesha Ghadasinghot, Lakshman Bhadawat, Singh Jesinghot, etc., with 1,500 cavalry[117] and himself encamped at Jaitaran. The Rana had ten chieftains, viz., Rao Kalyanmal (Bikaner), Rao Jaimal (Merta), Rao Suraj Hada (Bundi), Rao Narayandas (Idar), Rao Ramchandra Solanki(Toda), Rawal Asakaran (Dungarpur), Rawal Pratap Singh (Banswada), Kumar Tejaji (Devalia), Rao Durgabhan (Rampura), and Ram Singh (Kharad and Jahajgadh). The Sisodia army moved beyond Ajmer and

encamped at Harmada (24 miles north-east of Ajmer) to oppose him.[119] The Rathors with their Afgan allies, all told 6,500 soldiers, also moved forward to offer a battle.[120] The Rana was advised by Tej Singh and Suja Balecha to retire without fighting. The Rana refused.[121] The Battle of Harmada took place on Feb. 7, 1557 A.D.[122] Before the beginning of the battle Haji Khan hid a part of his forces behind a hill; and when the fight gained in warmth, he came forward and fell upon the Sisodias with his reserve forces from behind and trapped them. The Rana fought bravely and received an arrow in his forehead.[123] He was removed from the field on the arms of Pura Simhavat.[124] This appears to have had a disastrous effect upon his followers. Rao Durga lost his horse and rode on an elephant during the rest of the engagement.[125] Belecha Suja and Tej Singh were killed at the hands of Devidas Jaitawat.[126] Dodiya Bhim, Chundawat Chhitar and others - in all 100, lost their lives. Haji Khan lost 140 Pathans and Maldeo 40 Rathors.[127] Haji Khan occupied Ajmer.[128] Rao Jaimal fled to Merta.[129] Maldeo sent a reinforcement of 1,500 horse and attacked Merta.[130] Jaimal had to evacuate Merta on Feb.10,1557 A.D. Rao Maldeo entered into Merta on the 11th.[131] On orders from Maldeo, palaces and other buildings of Merta were destroyed and their sites were ploughed.[132] Jaimal returned to Mewar and again received the fief of Badnor wherefrom Devidas Jaitawat expelled him in 1559 A.D.[133]

ARRIVAL OF RAM SHAH OF GWALIOR TO MEWAR:

The fort of Gwalior was held for the Afgans

by Bhil Khan.[134] Ram Shah, a descendant of Raja Man Singh, the last Hindu sovereign of Gwalior, made an attempt at the conquest of the fort in 1557 A.D. and compelled Bhil Khan to shut himself up in the fort. Ram Shah besieged the fort and reduced the garrison to great straits.[135] Bairam Khan Mughal also sent a Mughal army to attack Gwalior and Bhil Khan offered to surrender the fort to Ram Shah 'for a reasonable sum.'[136] The Mughals defeated RamShah.[137] Ram Shah fled to Mewar[138] and obtained the jagir of Baradsor for maintenance.[139]

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF UDAI SINGH UPTO 1558 A.D.:

The year 1558 A.D. closes a chapter in the life of Rana Udai Singh. In the next year (1559 A.D.) Udai Singh came in clash with Akbar through abetting Rao Surjan Hada in the conquest of Ranthambhor. So it is an appropriate moment for taking stock of the achieve--ments to Udai Singh.

Successor to the diminished glory, territories and strength of Mewar, Udai Singh had to rule over an area within the limits of Mandalgadh in the north-east and the southern borders of Badnor in the north to Mandsaur in the south, the eastern borders of the Girwa in the west to the western borders of Hadauti in the east. Many nobles were divided in their loyalty to the new Rana. Militarily Udai Singh was so weak that the fort of Chittor could not be conquered without bribe. Banavir's departure with all the assets deprived the new Rana of most of the treasure of Mewar. The task before Udai Singh was difficult.

In spite of all these, Udai Singh began his career with a successful clash with Maldeo. The young Rana made a rapid progress in re-establishing his authority in Mewar. Soon after his accession he had to lose Chittor to Sher Shah. However, soon after Sher Shah's death, Udai Singh defeated Islam Shah Sur at Pasavara and recaptured the fort of Chittor. His pil--grimage to Dwarka brought Idar under his control. He got Ajmer from the Afgans and extended his kingdom upto the borders of the present-day Kishangadh state in the north of Ajmer.[140] By helping Rao Surjan in expelling Surtan From Bundi and in conquering Kotah, the Hadas and Hadauti were once again brought under the sceptre of Mewar. Sirohi was similarly brought under the vassalage of Mewar. Rawal Asakaran of Dungar--pur, who went to the extent of offering armed resistence to the Rana, was also persuaded to give up his hostility to Mewar. Except Ranthambhor, Mewar re-established her authority over all the districts a once ruled directly by Rana Sanga; and Ranthambhor was also soon gained. By 1557 A.D.Bikaner, Merta, Bundi, Dungarpur, Banswada, Devalia, Rampura and Kharad-Jahajgadh had accepted the leadership of Mewar.[141] Raja Bharmal of Amber is also reported to have sent his son Bhagwandas in the service of the Rana.[142] Amar Kavya asserts that Udai Singh collected tribute from the Sultan of Gujarat and also compelled the nobles of Gujarat to give horses in tribute.[143] Similarly, after the victory over the forces of Malwa, Udai Singh

had
not only captured some territories of Malwa but also forced the Sultan to pay tribute to the Rana.[144] Thus except the Rathors of Marwar, the Baghelas of Bhaghel-khand, Purabia Rajputs of Malwa, and the ruler of Gondwana, almost all the states, once under the leader-ship of Sanga, were once again united under the leadership of Udai Singh upto 1559 A.D. One must wonder as to what Udai Singh could not have done had his attention been not divided in watching and fighting Maldeo at his next door. In spite of this limitation by 1559 A.D. Udai Singh had forged himself into a formidable opponent of Akbar whom the Mughals dared not attack at the time of Surjan's occupation of Ranthambhor.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Amar Kavya, leaf 31(b)

(2) ibid, leaf 32(a)

(3) MMReu: Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors, pp. xx; Nensi II/155; Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 40(b).

(4) cf. The Battle of Mahi River in 1554 A.D. between Rana Udai Singh and Rawal Ashakaran.

(5) cf. Farishta IV/271.

(6) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 49(b).

(7) Tab.II/171; Farishta II/120; Al Badaoni I/476-77.

(8) Amar Kavya., leaf 31(b).

(9) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 52(a). Swarupde's maiden name was Rukamade (Rathoran ri Khyat Vanshavali, leaf 28(a)).

(10) Vanshavali 878, leaf 69(b). Badava Devidan (Mewar Ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 3(a)) calls her d/o Jhala Sajja.

(11) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaves 52(a)-(b); Amar Kavya, leaf 34(a).

(12) Amar Kavya, leaf 34(a)

(13) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 52(b).cf. Amar Kavya,leaf 34(a).

(14) ibid, leaf 52(b).

(15) Amar Kavya, leaf 34(a).

(16) cf. ibid.,leaf 34(a).

(17) Vir Vinod II/67.

(18) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 52(b).

(19) Amar Kavya, leaf 34(a).

(20) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 52(b).

(21) Amar Kavyam, leaf 34(b).

(22) ibid, leaf 34(a).

(23) ibid, leaf 32(b).

(24) ibid, leaf 32(b).

(25) Tarikh-i Sher Shahi, Elliot V/406.

(26) Abbas Khan ~~III/123~~: Tarikh-i Sher Shahi (Susil Gupta edi.),p.127. Farishta (II/128) simply refers to the capitulation of the fort of Chittor but not to the despatch of the keys of the fort 28 miles beyond Chittor. Al Badaoni and Tab. do ~~not~~ not refer to this event at all. Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,pp.61-2) says that the keys were surrendered at Jahajpur. Jahajpur is about 70 miles from Chittor and does not fall on Ajmer-Chittor route.

(27) Akbar Nama I/400; Neamet Ullah: Makhzen Afgani (Dorn Tr.),I/140.

(28) Dr. Gopinath,op. cit.,p.62.

(29) IHQ (March 1954),p.28.

(30) Akbar Nama I/400.

(31) Makhzen Afgani, I/140.

(32) For the text of this inscription see Appendix DD.

(33) IHQ XXXI/3,pp.273-74.

(34) See Appendix EE.

(35) Epi. Ind. II/42-7.

(36) Pub. Vir Vinod I/409-10.

(37) Amar Kavya, leaf 32(b).

(38) Makhzen Afgani, I/140.

(39) ibid,mI/140; Sher Shahi (Susil Gupta Edi.),p.127.

(40) Al Badaoni I/485-89; Tab. II/176-82; Farishta II/ 126-32; The Arabic History of Gujarat,III/1001-2; Tarikh-i Daudi, Elliot IV/478-84.

(41) Elliot: Appendix E,IV/531.

(42) Al Badaoni I/525.

(43) Vanshavali 872,p.137. See also Amar Kavya,leaf 32(b) which says that Udai Singh fought and defeated Islam Shah.

(44) Akar Kavya, leaf 32(b).

(45) ibid, leaf 32(b); Nensi I/111; Vanshavali 878, leaf 65(a); Vanshavali 872,p.138; Vanshavali 878, leaf 70(a).

(46) Nensi I/111.

(47) cf. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 99(a).

(48) Nensi I/111.

(49) ibid, I/110.

(50) cf. Amar Kavya, leaf 33(b).

(51) cf. ibid.,leaf 33(a).

(52) ibid, leaf 32(b).

(53) Nensi I/111. Mokal had earlier repaired this temple (Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple/Chittor Inscription, verse 61).

(54) Vanshavali 828,leaf 65(a); Vanshavali 872,p.138; Vanshavali 878, leaf 70(a).

(55) Amar Kavya, leaf 32(b).

(56) Vansha Bhaskar,p.2213.

(57) The year of the pilgrimage of Udai Singh to Dwarka (Amar Kavya, leaf 32(b)).

(58) The year of the coronation of Surjan as the ruler of Bundi (Vansha Bhaskar, p.2214).

(59) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2213.

(60) Nensi I/60,111.

(61) Vansha Bhaskar,p.2205. See also Nensi I/60.

(62) Vansha Bhaskar, pp.2204-5.

(63) ibid.,p.2199.

(64) Nensi I/110.

(65) Vansha Bhaskar,p.2207.

(66) Nensi I/110.

(67) Vansha Bhaskar,pp.2200-25.

(68) Chandra Shekhar: Surjan Charitra, XIII/67-78.

(69) Tab.II/190; Al Badaoni I/533; Farishta II/137.

(70) Jaimalvanshaprakash I/116; Chaturkulcharitra I/50.

(71) Amar Kavya, leaf 33(a).

(72) Munshi Devi Prashad: Maharana Udai Singh,p.90; Jaimalvanshaprakash I/116; Chaturkulcharitra I/50.

(73) Nensi II/162-63.

(74) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 45(a); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1550.

(75) Nensi II/164-65; Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1550.

(76) Guhlot: Rajputana ka Itihas III/171; Jaimalvansha-prakasha I/118-19; Chaturkulcharitra I/52.

(77) Jaimalvanshaprakasha I/119; Chaturkulcharitra I/53.

(78) cf. Jaimalvanshaprakasha I/119.

(79) Jagga Chundavat, who had participated and died in this battle (Nensi I/35), according to Amet ki Khyat, (quoted by Kavi Girvardan: Shivanath Prakash,p.109), died in 1554 A.D.

(80) Mehe Vithu: Mahi Nadi ka Yuddha (Appendix FF), verses 4-5.

(81) ibid, verses 5-8. Chauhan Savaldas Palsinghot was the uncle of Karami (Nensi I/170). Nensi (I/86) further informs us that Chauhans exercised almost

king-making powers in Wagad.

(82) Mehe Vithu, op. cit.,verse 9.

(83) ibid, verses 10 - 12.

(84) ibid.,verse 17. The statement of Nensi (I/35) that Karamsi killed Savaldas is incorrect.

(85) ibid.,verse 18.

(86) ibid.,verse 29.

(87) ibid.,verse 30.

(88) Nensi I/35. The cenetoph of Jagga stands near Jaitana where several other memorials lie scattered around over a large area (Shivanath Prakash, p.109).

(89) Pub. Vir Vinod II/1190.

(90) Mehe Vithu, op. cit.,verse 31.

(91) Nensi I/35,86.

(92) Amar Kavya, leaf 33(b).

(93) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, items 1299,1551.

(94) cf. Mehe Vithu, verses 5 - 8.

(95) cf. Nensi (I/86) where these Chauhans are referred to as king-makers in Wagad region in those days.

(96) Vanshavali 828, leaf 67(a); Vanshavali 872,p.142; Vanshavali 878, leaf 73(a).

(97) Amar Kavya, leaf 41(a).

(98) Oza: Sirohi Rajya ka Itihas,p.208.

(99) Nensi I/124-27.

(100) Al Badaoni II/6.

(101) Mirat-i Sikandari,p.279.

(102) Akbar Nama II/36,70; Ain-i Akbari I/328-29; Maasir-ul Umara I/410.

(103) Al Badaoni II/6.

(104) Akbar Nama II/71.

(105) Mirat-i Sikandari, p.279.

(106) Nensi I/58. By mistake instead of Prithviraj Kumpavat (Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(a)) Nensi mentions Prithviraj Jaitawat, who was killed by Rao Jaimal near Merta in 1611 V.S. (Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 45 (a); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1550; Nensi II/164).

(107) Nensi I/58-9. Cf. Dayaldas ri Khyat, leaves 198(a)-199(a): Tessitori, op. cit., Biblotheca Indica, No. 1412, p.87.

(108) Jaimal had lost Merta in 1554 A.D. and had it was not reconquered at this time it could not have been lost again in 1557 A.D. (see as we shall see below).

(109) cf. Nensi I/60.

(110) Mirat., p.279.

(111) Nensi I/59; Dayaldas ri Khyat, leaf 200(a): ~~Tessi~~ Tessitori, op. cit., no.1412, p.8).

(112) Nensi I/59.

(113) ibid, I/59. However, Mirat. (p.279) says that Haji Khan was willing to give elephants and gold.

(114) Nensi I/59; Mirat., p.279; Dayaldas ri Khyat, leaf (200a): Tessitori, op. cit., no.1412, p.8.

(115) Nensi I/59. cf. Dayaldas ri Khyat, leaf 200(a): Tessitori, op. cit., no.1412, p.8.

(116) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 45(b). cf. Nensi I/59; Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, items 1298, 1551.

(117) Nensi I/59; Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1298.

(118) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1300; Rathoran ri

Khyat, leaf 45(b).

(119) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1551.

(120) Nensi I/59-60.

(121) ibid.,I/60.

(122) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1299.

(123) Nensi I/60.

(124) Phutakar Gita (MS, SBU), leaf 102. Dr. Gopinath (op. cit., p.38 n.100) has missed the whole sense of this piece by misreading "Pure" as "Gere". Pura was the son of Sinha Jhala and the grandson of Ajja Jhala (Nensi II/472-73).

(125) Nensi I/60.

(126) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 45(b); Nensi I/60.

(127) Nensi I/60.

(128) Akbar Nama II/72.

(129) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(a).

(130) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1300.

(131) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(a); Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1300.

(132) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1300. Jaimalvansha-prakasha (I/122) and Chaturkulcharitra (I/55) say that only the temple of Chaturbhujji was spared.

(133) Jaimalvanshaprakasha I/122.

(134) Akbar Nama II/88. Tab. (II/233) calls him Bahil Khan and Farishta (II/194) calls him Sohil Khan.

(135) Farishta II/194; Akbar Nama II/88.

(136) Farishta II/194. Maasir-ul Umara (Second edi. II/530) says that the fort was offered "for a small sum".

(137) Akbar Nama II/88. cf. Farishta II/194.

(138) Farishta II/194.

(139) Amar Kavya, leaf 33(a).

(140) For a copper-plate referring to the grant of land by Udai Singh in this region see Appendix GG.

(141) cf. The list of the chieftains who accompanied Udai Singh to the Battle of Harmada (vide Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, items 1299,1551).

(142) Amar Kavya, leaf 33(a).

(143) ibid, leaf 32(b).

(144) ibid.,leaf 33(b).

Appendix DD :

गणेशबावडी या चकराबाय का शिलालेख (टोडा रायसिंह)

।।०।। सिधि ।। श्री गणेशायनमः ।। पं ब्रहम वेदान्त विदो वदंति परं प्रधानं पुरुषं तथान्ये ।। विश्वोग्दते (ः) कारणमी श्वंरं वा तस्मै नमो विघ्नविनाशनाय ।।१।। संवत १६०४ वर्षे ।। शाके १४३९ मागसिर वदि २ दिने वध्दिनीपती ।। प्रो॰ पान्हड ।।! ।। तस्य पुत्र प्रो॰ नराहुण (!) ।। तत्पुत्र प्रो महेश ।। प्रो॰ चक्रपाणी । तस्य पुत्र चि॰ कासीदास ।। चि॰ विष्णुदास ।। राजाधिराज राजश्री सूर्यसेणि ।। तस्य पुत्र राज श्रीपृथ्वीराज ।। तस्य पुत्र राजश्रीराव रामचंद राज्यु वर्तमाने ।। तस्य पुत्र कवरं च परसराम ।। पातिसाहि सेर साहि सूर ।। तस्य पुत्र पतिसाह असलेम साहि ।। कौ वारौ वर्तमाने ।। सार्वभुमिको षसम षाडालाष ।। कौ षसमु राज श्री संग्रामदेव । तस्य पुत्र अुदैयसिंघ देवराणौ कुंभलमेर राज्ये वर्तमाने ।। कारागर लाला श्रीचंदरासू (!) लिषितं जो रामदास कारागर सीवचंद तकांराम पादवी लायति .... रनि जन चोवारि बडा हुति (!) टं॰ १००१ सहस्र रक (!) अंके मेवाडो बाणौ ।। टंक १० रटं १ बाहुके निमि (ब T T !) लागा शुभं भवतु ।। राम राम राम ।।

Appendix EE :

रावत भान फी छतरी का शिलालेख , जीरण

... माराजाधीराज माहारावतजी श्रीभानाजी देवल्या राजा रा... मुना पदराया ... जोदसीघनी सरा ... या दसोर ... रजवाड दली तप पातसा... अकबरजी अुदेपूर तप राणा ... अमरसिंघ समत १६ सौ ५४ साके १५१(९) परवत मानवती अग ... दीतवार

(ओझा: प्रतापगढ राज्य अितिहास , पृ॰११४ नोट २)

परिशिष्ट ~~(आर)~~ FF

::माही नदी का युद्ध::

~~(सरस्वती नंदिरा, उदयपुरा, मूल मक्ता नं. ४७८)~~

(करमसी सामलदास चहूंवाण रा कवित मे हे वीठू रा कहिया)

आगे आदि जुगादि बाद वेरा वडवडा
नरां सुरां असुरां परां पूरां पर चडां
वसुधा कजि आवटे वहे वहि वारो वारी
केता कोडी गने कंत वेढिया कुमारी
मोटा ही वकूवे मंडली मेरी मेरी कहे मुखी
धार मेल्ही मरेगा धारपति साथिन चली कहे सुखी।।१।।
वेधा कारणि वेध वधो खट त्रींसा वंसां
दातारा सूरिमा रहे सोभाग मुणिसां
चहूं जुग लग चहूंआंण सत पूरित समोसर
गढे घणे गढपति विठे विवना वीरवर
सातल्ल सोम हंमीर कांह प्रिथीमल अकह कीय
कुल तेणि उदे थ्या कुल तिलक सामलदास करमसीय।।२।।
करम सीह अकास कांधि कुल मार किया वर
सूर तु नस प्रमाण जाणि मूरति जोगे सर
सांम लखई संभ्रम सोह साखा चोवीसां
मोतीहार विचार जस्स सिणगार जगीसां
एकाह इक आचागला असिमर ओड धण अरी
चहूंवाण थंभ वागड धरा वागड चहूंवाणां परी।।३।।
आहाडो आसकन पाटि राउल डूंगर पुर
वडाजेण वागीया धडे चहूंवाण राह धुर
वागड सिरि विसीये वयण मुख वंका वंचे
रेह लण रिमहरां राणि हम आरंभ रंचे
परधान मेल्हि चोत्रोड डूंगर पुरांत दखीयो
मांगीया उदेसिंघ मछरीये दयो डंड घोडा दीयो।।४।।

परिशिष्ट ~~(क्रम)~~ FF

मेवाडे मागीया पवंग कंहला डूंगरपुर
सुणे वात चहुंवाण रोसि हसीया राजेसर
म्हे वागड भोमिया भोमि वागड माह परठी
जाह भविता न टले परमि जाह लेख परठी
इखे विअंत उर अंतरे सिरे डम्ड जाह सां सहे
जीवीयो अजीवित तांहि जठि करम सीह सांगल वहे।।५।।
मुधा पाल रे वंस वडिम ए परीया वडा
पर देसे पर काज परह पूरण पर चंडा
परहभीड पेसे परह गंढा पाडि गाहे
पर दल जियण पाणि सु जस पर सूत्रे साहे
धार सु छल कलह छल मछर धारि वदीया वहु आणे विहद
मरण मे डणु माथे करे मरद नहीं ताह ना मरद।।६।।
कोरा राजा केथि जीव जोखिम पेठो जलि
कथि सोह दहकंधा भरे जी उठवे किरण मलि
कहो केथि वीकम अणु कज वाहस तके
जुधा जोडे जे चंद गंग ओतडि डाबके
मुखपती खोडि लागी भवा जां जीवण कीधा जतन
ऊजलो अंत करिसा अम्हे करमसीह कहीया कचंन।।७।।
जोवण पंच हीवसा जाह जल अंजलि जेही
फरे हटकी लास तरस गागल तेही
त्रूटे दिन दिन तेय आउ खण खण आव ठे।
स्याम विहुर पाल टे पोर जर सेत प्रगटे
का रिमा पिंड जतन किसा कथन मुखि एरस कहे
~~[illegible]~~
ऊदरा प्रधाना आगली सा सांमलि डंड नसां सहे।।८।।
परधानां इम पुणे राण आगली वारता
चहूंवाण कलहि सो साखि सुरिज्ज परता
उदेसिंघ आरंभ एक दल मेलि अजगल
हीलोहल हालीया करे मादुव जल कंठल

परिशिष्ट ~~(अर)~~ FF

ओ कंधि आवी बागड इला ओथरिया अकलां मणा
सामला ऊठि असमर सजे तूंगे सर अखई तणा।।९।।
पोलाख सामले पूर पोरिस्स पहने
मोहि भूछ ऊपछ नयण कीय चोल विरने
भुजा डंड नीमजे खग धूणीयो कर गिहि
वधीयो जाणि विसंन कमलि वालि दीधे पगिहि
ऊठीयो इसी परि ऊससे सीस अरसहि लाइयो
साथी स भूझले सामलो अरिदल साम्हे आईयो।।१०।।
बोले बोल सतोल ढोल वीजीया त्रिघाई
वध सुभटां वाद साद सिधू सहनाई
हींसा रव हेमरा क्रीस कंजर मे मतां
चडे कडे भूझार धार अगार धिखतां
साफलो करे वा सामलो साथी सुहड सडंबरा
नदीया वीर पीवा नहुं रोहडीया दल राणरा।।११।।
राण तणे राउते कीध करि खग उनगा
हुवे हक फारक वीर वीरा रस वगा
वधे दाम संग्राम नेक वर वीरा निहटा
वढे घट आवट धार धाम सट पछटा
मर जड असंध संधी मरड करड कंध केवाण के
केवीयां धाई मिलते कियो चका बोह चहूवाण के।।१२।।
होई हा दस हमस मिले झूझार धसमस
वाजि निहस वीर रस लोह लूंबे पाबस लस
सो चोवीसां सनस जुडे मछरीक लिये जस
सेन तणा दस सहस पडे भड ऊलस पालस
विछुडे डले खल मांस वंस धार सार वाजे धमस
काहस्र धणां कांडत का कलही पधो सांमल सकस।।१३।।
डाहणी डक डहक हक होए हलकारा
वोज धाक धडक लंक भूटे झूझारां

परिशिष्ट (~~आर~~) FF

उरे कुंत खरडक सार झाबक सबकां
फीफर फटि मुकर करत ऊबक खलकां
वर वक वृधे चहुंवाण वंस विढण वांक आंक घले
सामेले सुहड सौ खंड कीय खलां सरे सा रण खले।।१४।।
बोलतां बखतां कोपवंता कलहंतां
जण जसा मुहिंजा अंता दीये चढतां हांकतां
भद्रजाती भजतां वाघ बोकतां विढतां
आंहणसां ऊठता सार बाहतां सहंता
जे चंदमाण चापे जगे नीग्रहि नीमणी या इतां
तिणि तालि चहूं हाथी तणां रूप वधे बड राउतां ।।१५।।
कांह कलोधार कुंवर पात अरि खग पहारां
जोध कांध जू जूवा अणी धारां अगारां
घेले भड वाढीया कणझ हुई केकाणां
भाजि गूड गेमरा भल्ल हथां चहूंवाणा
पछाडि पाडि पाडीया लगे खंड विहंडे कीध खल
साथियां धन सामल तणा सामल धनं सहस बल्ल ।।१६।।
पल खंडर होई पडे चडे विम्माणां चले
समल ग्रीध ध्रो कीध लीये आमिख अपले
देवायण भारथ कथ रामायण जाणं
चोकि चोकि जहूं खंडि प्रिथि पुडि वधे प्रमाण
असि मर हथ अखां अंगो भमि वागड छल कीधो विढाणि
साथियां साथि सतियां सहित सामल पोह तो सुर भू अणि।।१७।।
एक दीह अंतरे कीयो सामलि समर भर
तेणि वात संभली कमे ऊभीयो करिमर
पेज्ज लेय पहिलोई अन पाणी परताबे
वसुह लोक वीसारि सरग सोभाग सुहावे
साथी सझूझ बंधान सब मिले समेला हेक मनि
वरे छल वसुह छल वंस छल विल कुलते उठीयो वदनि।।१८।।

परिशिष्ट(~~आर~~)FF

साहले धण सद्द जाणि सुणियो गहमते
वधे प्राण हनमत द्रोण ऊपाडि वहते
वैसनर घ्रित सोचि वन्नि लागो मिलि वारा
ऊफणीयो अति विष घनग चापीयो कपारा
भ्रम चडे सूर सुत इसी भति भिडत वात राखण भवा
सज करे ने साहण सघण सिरि आयो सात्रवा।।१९।।
चहूं आण चापडे धाट आयो ऊपटे
सी बादल बीछुडे पूर किरि जोत प्रगटे
हे पाखर झल हले सार झुमझार सनधा
रण वटे बंधीये लोह लेवा प्रबलधा
करमसी कथ भारथ वरण तुंग अभंग तरसीयो
मेवाड तणे दल मारको ठावते रही निहसीयो ।।२०।।
हगे बाण रण ढाणा ताण कम्माण तरसे
अमली माण जूंवाण झाल के के वाण निहसे
पडे पाड पीठाण हुवे खल हाण निहटा
बोट संध बंधाण धाण ऊतरे सुभटा
चहुवाण राण चढि चापडे पडि जुडि राणि वरवाण परि
सीचाण जाणि उपटे सवा केहरि डाण प्रमाणि करि।।२१।।
पटे धटे उपटे नीक धज वट निहटें
अरध धार वेहार जाड पलटे नीवटें
हले हन्ड ने हन्ड मून्ड संडाहल डन्डह
भाजि हड भूहन्ड खन्ड वे हन्ड प्रचंडह
धाड चडे धाडे धाड बे हडे सूर जेकार समंचरे
सात्रवां सेन सहि संघरे करमसीह भारथ करे।।२२।।
समर भरि सरिवि सरि फौज नरि नरि फरि अफरि
मारि मारि मुख मछरि मने हरि हरिऊव चरि
अत्रा वलि डरि ऊवरि पगा लग हले इसी परि
किरी हिं दार राह कूंवरि हीये हीडे हीलो हरि

परिशिष्ट (~~आर~~) FF

वेरी पांव बाढे विसरि कलहे रिणि चारि कसरि
संबर विजाणि भरबके सहरि करमसिह करिमाल करि।।२३।।

भिरखे जाल करिमाल काल कंकाल कडछे
जीण साल जंजाल त्रूटि जरदाल तडछे
कुभं ढाल कंधाल ढहे ढेचाल सढलां
हुवे खाल पडनाल वहे श्रोणाल वहिलां
रंग ढाल तूभ रणताल सेा करमसीह सांभलि कहे
विरमाल मकरि वरमाल ले रंथ वाल भूले रहे।।२४।।

वहे धार ऊजला हुलां साबलां धसकां
पेजू अल कमंला कलां छूटे उर लंका
त्रूटि इलां ~~उछलां जलां तोछलाक मछां~~ पिंगला बहुनी कलां बरूछां
खलां झलां उछलां जलां तोछलाक मछां
से खंड हुवे दंतु सलां मुडे असंधा मेगलां
भिडता धन लाल मूव बलां डूंगर संग्राम अरि दला।।२५।।

अरध ढाहे संनाह अरध संबाह ~~[illegible]~~ सुभंटा
अरध फट को पट अरध घंटा जूवटा
अरध कंध उजडे अरध संधा अवसंधा
अरध नंग निरलंग अंग होई अधो अंधा
संग्राम धीर हमीर सूव धडा अरधा अध धड
एकेक घाउ अधो अरध खेति कीध अरि खंग भड।।२६।।

डह डहतो डोहतो दंत पाहार दियंतो
घण घाए घूमतो फेर अफरि फिरंतो
वेग खग वाहतो वाड वेरी वाढतो
नालि चाढि नाखतो रोस रतो गह मतो
चहुंवाण हरी घट चूरतो पूखतो पिंड मुंह पूतो
कीतो वराह जिम कलहतो जोधाउत जाणि जतो।।२७।।

धारा ख धूंव ख ऊछले सार अंगा रव

झाला रव झूझ रव लोह वाजे लोला र व
पाणा र व पूर र व पार पोरिस पवणा र व
ढोला रव धड हडे ढोए रख हुए धिखा र व

सेन रव हुए संघार वण रंखा र व दाझंत रिम

रुक रस भिले राइ मलो जगो विलागो धेम जिम।।२८।।

खेतल खांडा हथ साथि सूरा मड सोहे

भांड भवानी दास लाल रिण वटता लोहे

दुरगो सांई दास कलहि कीतो करि भाले

जणि जणि वाजे जुडे जगो कांधिल्ल जडाले

गोचडा मडा धड गोडवे गहे थाह मातो गहण

राउत कमां छलि राउत मछरी के कीधो मरण ।।२९।।

मरण करे मछरीक विढे वडे विमाणे

पलचारी पल मखे रुधिर पूरे रण द्राणे

सात वीस राउत सांगि सरिमा सम रटा

सतींया झूल सहेत वरां सरिस्ये कुल वटा

मेवाड दलां सोलोह मिलि हे कवके जस नाम होई

करमसी अने सोमलि कियो करेन इम अव साण कोई।।३०।।

इसो कीधा अवसाण जिसो जाणत सयल जण

राउतां माहा मछरीक निभे मण

सांमल ने करमसी चंद जस नामो चाडे

वागड छल वीरति विढे अरि थट विभाडे

हरि भूवणि गया बालण हरा धारा तीरथ धारा थल

कवि भह प्रवीडो चित्रीयो कले नहीं कलि ताहअ कल।।३१।।

:समाप्त:

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर

वक्ता: आशिया श्री सावल दान जी चारण कवि।

Appendix GG :

वकनात हुक्म मोजे अुहारन परगने किशनगढ की रा ब्राह्मण पढ्ा पुण्यार्थ डोहली गुनराव्यां तीरी तफसील

(१) पट्टो : महाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिसिंहनी सं. १६९१ महा सुदी पू रो जो मोजे अुहारन रै ब्राह्मण नुं पुण्यार्थ धरती जिका राणा अुदैसिंहजीरा पढ्ा मुवाफिक जिका कानुं कदीम चडता आया छे सो दीनी कानु धरती खडे छे जिपसे कोअी अुजर करण न पावै

..(मूलपत्र " महाराजा श्रीहरिसिंहजो का जीवन चरित्र " पत्र ६१)

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CHAPTER XI

UDAI SINGH (CONTD.)

CONQUEST OF RANTHAMBHOR BY RAO SURJAN :

Being hard pressed by Habib Khan, an imperial commander, Sangram Khan, the Afgan commander of Rantham--bhor, agreed to hand the fort over to the invaders on certain conditions, one of them being that a part of the stipulated money should consist of ready cash. Habib Khan had no ready money to pay. So he resorted to delaying tactics with an intention of conquering the fort by force.[1] Haji Khan, who had been by them expelled by the Mughals from Jaitaran[2], arrived on the scene at this time. Possibly, on Haji Khan's advice and himself being also sure of the futility of further resistance to the Mughals[3], Sangram Khan invited Rao Surjan of Bundi, the powerful Hada chieftain and a vassal of Mewar.[4] Surjan was then 'celebrated for his wealth and number of followers!'[5] He went with 400 followers and contrived to enter into the fort at mid-night.[6] One Savant Singh Chauhan, who had fled Bundi to save his life from Rao Surtan, the former ruler of Bundi, and joined Islam Shah Sur and got a post in the fort of Ranthambhor, was already there.[7] Surjan, having paid the required money to Sangram Khan[8] on behalf of Udai Singh[9] got the fort well equipped and strong.[10] The Rao held on the fort against the Mughals[11] with the help of the Afgan garrison whom he won over to

his side and employed them in his service.[12] Sangram Khan on the receipt of the stipulated sum left Ranthambhor and, along with Haji Khan, threaded his way to Gujarat.[13] The Mughals remained at Ranthambhor for some time and were ultimately compelled to raise the siege.[14] Surjan won over the neighbouring potentates by bribe or diplomacy.[15] Udai Singh, in whose name the fort was acquired from the Afgans, entrusted the command of Ranthambhor to Surjan Hada.[16] Surjan took up his residence there,[17] built a palace in the fort[18] and stored a large quantity of provisions and arms.[19] The adjoining districts were also brought under his control.[20] Gradually his authority was established over 400 villages in the vicinity of Ranthambhor which lodged terror in the heart of the Mughals[21]. Akbar sent Habib Khan again to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor[22]. After an engagement at Supar, Surjan was compelled to shut himself up in the said fort[23]. Udai Singh checked the Mughals[23]. Habib Khan once again besieged Ranthambhor[24]. Hard battles were fought but Surjan stuck valiently on to the defence of the fort[25]. The siege lasted for a long time[26]. Meanwhile Bairam Khan revolted and the Mughals were once again compelled to raise up the siege and retire,[27] The only gain to the Mughals was the plunder from the area around the fort.[28] One year after the purchase of Ranthambhor Surjan removed the Afgan garrison from the fort.[29]

UDAI SINGH'S CHANGE OF CAPITAL TO UDAIPUR:

The conquest of Jaitarana on March, 20,1560 A.D.[30]

and an unsuccessful attack on Merta by the Mughals on June, 13, 1560 A.D.[31] were eye-openers to Udai Singh as steps indicative of the Mughal plan for expansion in Rajputana. The occupation of Ranthambhor by Rao Surjan in the teeth of the opposition of the Mughals had already irritated Akbar. Since the conquest of Malwa by the Mughals the fears which Udai Singh had about them were further confirmed.[32] So the Rana contemplated to shift his capital to some secure place because Chittor was the worst place for defence against aggressors. So while on way to Eklingji, Udai Singh selected a site for his future capital[33] in the bowl of the Girwa valley.[34] The spot in question is a depression surrounded on three sides by mountain ranges extending upto Shri Rshabhadeoji and Sirohi, hardly admitting any outlet except at Devari in the east. In the central plain extending for some miles Devadas had about 52 villages.[35]

The Girwa region was formerly in the hands of the Rathors of Idar. When Sanga married the daughter of Rao Bhana of Idar, he got Girwa in dowry. However, during the days of confusion after Ratansi, Mina Madlya occupied it. Udai Singh killed Madlya and brought the Girwa under his subjection.[36] All the villages of the Devadas were also smashed.[37] The Devadas were crushed.[38] The authority of the Rana was established in Merepur, Ghalawad, Chorivadata, and the plateau of Ogna. The Devadas who had taken to agriculture were transplanted to the region near Chittor.[39] The Rana assigned the newly acquired area to his own followers.[40] In the same way Ban Singh

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Rathor,[41] who had established himself in Salumber area, was expelled and the district was assigned to Rawat Sanyidas Chundawat. Later on Udai Singh married the daughter of Shiv Singh Rathor and bestowed upon his son the jagir of Kanatoda.[42] After acquiring both Salumber and Girwa regions Udai Singh next proceeded to fill up the eastern depression near Debari with water to offer security to his new capital from the east. He constructed a dam facing Chittor to flood this area. The lake thus formed was to act as a solid acquatic defence wall against the attackers from Chittor side who were henceforth compelled to pass through the narrow pass of Debari. A determined opposition at Debari, if intended, was to block their progress, ena-bling the people of Udaipur enough time for escaping into places of safety. Though the plan of this dam was finalised in 1560 A.D., the actual construction work started in 1562 A.D.[43] The charge of its erection was entrusted to Rawat Sawal Das.[44] The lake when completed was to contain waters from Gogunda and Kumbhalner regions.[45] A new city of Udaipur was built in the place of the old village of Paladi[46]. A palace called Moti Mahal was also built in 1563-4 A.D. on an adjoining western hill.[47] Even today one encounters the masonary of this delapidated building enjoying the envious honour of being addressed by the original name of Moti Mahal. People started migrating to Udaipur in 1565-6 A.D. and by 1567 A.D. it was a flurishing city. The work of Udai Sagar dam was completed in 1566 A.D.[48] Its inauguration rites were

performed on March, 24,1566 A.D. by Udai Singh. The Rana rode in a palanquin along with his wives around this lake, christened after him as Udai Sagar. Donations, including Udai Singh's weight in silver and some villages, were given to the Brahmins.[49] Chittu Bhatt (s/o Lakshminarayan Tailang) received the village of Bhurawara.[50] A temple, now known as Udai Shyam Temple[51] and a palace on the south bank of Pichhola lake, known as Damdama,[52] were also built by Udai Singh in Udaipur. Surjan Hada and Rao Durgabhan also built their mansions in Udaipur.[53] Thus after rendering the newly built city of Udaipur fit for royal residence,[54] Udai Singh moved to stay in it in 1567 A.D.[55], some time after the arrival of Rao Jaimal of Merta for the third time in Mewar in 1563-4 A.D.[56] A Jain temple dedicated to Shaitalnathji was also built in Udaipur about this time.[57]

AKBAR'S FIRST HINDU MARRIAGE AND ITS EFFECT UPON MEWAR:

Bharmal Kachhawaha, son of Prithviraj,[58] became the king of Amber in 1547 A.D.[59] His rival Asakaran went to Delhi and brought Haji Khan Pathan to his aid, who was won over by Bharmal to his own side.[60] Bharmal had obliged Majnun Khan Qaqshal during Haji Khan's attack on Narnul and attended the Mughal court on his invitation in the first year of the reign of Akbar.[61] Bharmal is also reported to have participated in the Mughal attack on Jaitaran on March, 20,1560 A.D., along with Rao Jaimal of Merta.[62] In 1561-2 A.D.Sharfuddin Hussain Mirza, the Governor of Ajmer and Nagor, attacked Amber at the instigation of Shuja (s/o of Puranmal). Rajsingh (s/o Asaka-

-ran whom Bharmal had deposed) and Kanger (nephew of Bharmal) and Jagannath (s/o Bharmal) became Mirza's associates in this attack.[63] At this particular moment Akbar left Agra on Jan. 14,1562 A.D. to visit Ajmer. At Deosa (40 miles east of Amber) Jauna (s/o Rupsi, a brother of Bharmal) joined Akbar and also brought his father to pay his respects to the emperor at the latter's express desire.[64] Bharmal waited upon the emperor with his whole family at Sanganer. And further 'to strengthen the ties of friendship' offered his daughter Jodhabai in marriage to Akbar, who was pre--sented to the emperor at Sambhar, when Akbar was on his way back to Agra from Ajmer.[64] As a result of this tribute Akbar restrained Sharfuddin Mirza from molesting Bhamal and directed him to attack Merta.[65] In the attack on Merta,[66] Devidas Jaitawat was killed at Santalia on March, 20, 1562 A.D.[67] The death of Devidas offered Udai Singh a chance to reconquer Badnor between March 20, 1562 A.D.(the date of the death of Devidas) and 1563-4 A.D.[68] (when it was con--ferred upon Rao Jaimal). By the middle of 1562 A.D., Sultan Baz Bahadur of Malwa had also taken refuge in Mewar.[69] Udai Singh not only granted asylum to Baz Bahadur against Akbar but also permitted the Sultan's soldiers to carry on depredatory excursions in Malwa.[70] This brought the Mughal guns to the gates of Chittor

RAM SINGH S/O MALDEO IN MEWAR:

Ram Singh (s/o Rao Maldeo) and Rani Lakhmade

had planned to capture ~~his father~~, Maldeo, while the latter was to enter the fort of Jodhpur. This plot was revealed to Maldeo by Prithviraj Jaitawat and Maldeo expelled the prince and his adoptive mother Umade from Marwar. They sought sanctuary in Mewar.[71] Udai Singh, the father-in-law of Ram Singh, bestowed the fief of Kelwa on his son-in-law.[72] This would have happened before April 4, 1554 A.D.(when Prithviraj Jaitawat died in the Battle of Merta)[73]. Maldeo died in 1562 A.D. During the absence of the eldest prince Ram, Swarupde got her second son Chandrasen nominated as the successor to the throne of Marwar by Maldeo. As soon as the news of the death of Maldeo reached Ram Singh at Kelwa, he went straight to Chittor to bring aid for attacking Marwar. Ram Singh attacked Chandrasen and in the Battle of Dhadalo, Ram Singh was defeated.[74] In 1567 A.D.Patta Nangawat attacked and plundered Jhandadiya of Mewar. The Rana sent Mandan Kumpawat and Sahasachand Bhairavadasot to retaliate, in which Sahasmal lost his life.[75] This is the last recorded clash between Udai Singh and Marwar.

RETURN OF RAO JAIMAL TO MEWAR (1563 A.D.)

In 1563 A.D. Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain, now x Amir-ul.Umara and the fief-holder of Nagor and Ajmer, went to Agra[76] along with Vitthaldas, s/o Jaimal of Merta[77]. While staying at Agra, the Mirza became suspicious and fled from the court ~~towards his fief.~~[78] ~~Vithaldas also accompanied him.~~[79] ~~Akbar attacked~~

towards his fief.[78] Vitthaldas also accompanied him.[79] Akbar attacked Merta in punishment.[80] Jaimal further made himself bold to get the inmates of the Mirza rescued from Nagor. Kunwar Shardul Singh, the second son of Jaimal, went to Nagor with 200 horsemen. Though Shardul Singh lost his life with 40 men, the Mughals failed in capturing the family of the Mirza.[81] Jaimal sent his family and followers to Mewar and himself accompanied the Mirza. At Sirai, Jaimal parted company with Sharfuddin, turned towards Nagana to visit the shrine of a goddess and finally proceeded to Mewar.[82] Udai Singh besides bestowing Badnor also conferred the fiefs of Kareda[83] and Kotharia upon the Rao.[84] Akbar demanded the extra-dictation of Jaimal which the Rana refused. This offended Akbar greatly and added one more reason for his attack on Mewar.[85]

CAUSES OF UDAI-AKBAR CONFLICT:

In 1567 A.D. the sons and descendants of Muhammad Sultan Mirza revolted.[86] In their rebellion the complicity of Udai Singh was clearly detected, a revealation which helped Akbar in his final determination to attack Mewar,[87] because her independence was now proved to be inimical to the interests of the empire.

The faults of Udai Singh, according to the Muslim historians, were his independence[88] and his help to the Mirzas,[89] indiscretions richly meriting some punishment at the hands of Akbar. Hence immediately after his return to Agra, the paragana of

Biana was taken away from Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani and bestowed,[90] along with Basawara and Wazirpur Mandal--gadh, upon Asaf Khan,[91] who was commissioned to proceed thither, and collect provisions for the inva--sion of Mewar.[92] The emperor followed in his wake and left Agra on Sunday, August, 30,1567 A.D.[93] for the paragana Bari on the plea of hunting[94]. The hunting was a camouflage for concealing his war pre--parations. Under the pretext of accompanying the sovereign for hunting, as Abul Fazl admits, "loyal and devoted leaders might come without the notoriety of being called for",[95] i.e., without the fanfarode of mobilization. A grand army of numberless persons mustered around the imperial camp at Bari when the emperor was(purposely?) absent to Dholpur for hunting.[96] To ally the suspicions of clever people, frightened by this large assemblage, the intention of attacking Malwa,was broadcasted[97] which was partly true. Akbar had already sounded Shakti Singh, son of Rana, Udai--singh inexplicably present in the Mughal court,[98] on one previous occasion about his participation in the war against the Rana and received encouraging response from him.[99] Again he asked the prince about helping the Mughals in attacking Mewar and complained about Udaisingh for his not having submitted so far to the Mughals which was to result in an early invasion of Mewar. Akbar ended this peroration by asking directly about the nature of help Shakti Singh intended to render to Akbar in the coming war.[100] Shakti Singh fled away

from Akbar's camp that very night to inform about the approaching danger to Udai Singh,[101] who was having premonitions about the Mughal attack on Mewar since the fall of Mandu in Akbar's hands.[102] The reason of the flight of Shakti Singh lay in his fear of being permanently branded with the shame of bringing in the invaders into the motherland.[103] Abul Fazl's attempts to put off the edge of the move of Akbar to exploit the services of Shakti Singh in Mewar by saying that Akbar had started from Agra for Bari honestly for 'chita' - hunting and the remark about the coming invasion of Mewar was either a 'pleasantry' or a device to throw the Mirazas off their guard in Malwa to facilitate their extinction.[104] Maasir-ul.Umara[105] and Mirat-i-Alam[106] on the other hand suggest that it was, simply, a device of Akbar to catch the Mirza's unawares. ~~Mirazas off their guard in Malwa to facilitate their extinction.~~ It is true that Akbar was planning an attack on the Mirazas in Malwa at this time as revealed in the despatch of an army against them under Shahbuddin Ahmad Khan and Shah Bidah Khan from Gagarun some time after Shakti Singh episode; but it also cannot be denied that the preparations for the invasion of Mewar were set afoot before the departure of Akbar for Bari(cf. the appointment of Asaf Khan to the fief of Biana). Akbar's reference to attack Mewar was a serious affair and not a mere 'pleasantry' or a jest. So the plea of Akbar Nama, Maasir-ul Umara and Mirat-i Alam that the flight of Shakti Singh from

the court precipitated the attack on Mewar, not intended at all in Akbar's remark to Shakti Singh, though entertaining is unacceptable. Akbar had collect--ed a huge army capable of attacking simultaneously Mewar and the Mirazas both. By his remark to Shakti Singh he wanted to lull the suspicions of the Mirazas and by the fanfaroade about his intention to attack the Mirazas he wanted to put the Rana off his guard. By the departure of Shakti Singh not only were Akbar's plans to attack Mewar unexpectedly exposed but his words also laid open to ridicule in case the emperor failed to redeem his pledge of invasion.[107] Hence to prove the seriousness of his words Akbar had to undertake and immediate invasion of Mewar,[107] possibly, a little earlier and in a different way than originally planned. The plea of Khuman Raso that a Qazi excited Akbar to attack the Rana by pleading the expansion of Islam ~~for its~~ in his support[107a] might also be containing some particles of truth.

There were more reasons than one for Akbar's attack on Mewar. Udai Singh possessed the forts of Ranthambhor, Kotah, Mandalgadh and Chittor. The possession of the first two forts, situated on the eastern borders of Mewar coterminous with Malwa, by the emperor was essential for the Mughal hegemony in Malwa; and Ranthambhor, very dangerously close to Agra, could not be left in the hands of the Sisodias.[108] The plea of Dayaldas that the family enmity between

Akbar and Udai Singh was also the cause of the war between Mewar and the Mughals[109] cannot be accepted in the light of the help rendered by Humayun in the recon--quest of Chittor by Rana Vikramajit from the garrison of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1535 A.D. It cannot be argued that Akbar wanted to force matrimony on the Rana for saving the face of Biharimal Kachhawaha, Akbar's father-in-law; because in the subsequent treaty of Akbar with Rao Surjan Hada in 1569 A.D. it was specifically stipulated that no Hada girl was to be demanded or married to the Mughals.[110] The abetment of Rao Surjan Hada in possess--ing the fort of Ranthambhor and the conquest of its adjoining territories, the refuge to Baz Bahadur in Mewar and the attacks on the Mughals in Malwa from Mewar by Baz Bahadur's followers, the refusal to surrender Rao Jaimal to Akbar, and the possession of very important and strategic forts essential to Akbar not only for the completion of the Mughal conquest of northern India but also for their expansion in Gujarat were the chief reasons which impelled Akbar to undertake the invasion of Mewar.

Added to these was the fact of the political leadership of Udai Singh of the most of the then existing Rajput states. Out of Jaisalmer, Amber, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Devalia, Banswara, Dungarpur and Rampura, Amber had already submitted to the Mughals and Marwar was maimed by the loss of Ajmer, Jaitaran, Nagor and Merta. Except Jaisalmer, all the remaining states were under the leadership of Udai Singh (cf.the

chieftains who accompanied Udai Singh to the Battle of Haramada). So in a way Akbar was fighting all the remain--ing unsubmitted Rajput states of Rajputana in the per--son of Udai Singh. The aid to the Mirzas by Udai Singh was a pretext, and the flight of Shakti Singh, an occa--sion and a defence, of this agression. To impute any--thing like hereditary rivalry between Akbar and Udai Singh is a sheer imagination.

AKBAR'S INVASION OF MEWAR:

Akbar marched from Dholpur to Munaidana[111] about Sept. 19, 1567 A.D. and thence to Hindawana.[112] When he reached the fort of Sivi Supar it was found deserted by thethe followers of Surjan Hada.[113] The garrison had retired to the fort of Ranthambhor.[114] The peasantry had also fled away after rendering the land desolate.[115] This scorth-earth tactics is attributed by Abul Fazl[115] to fear which is a deliberate misstatement or a misunder--standing. Akbar stayed at Sivi Supar for 2 days and the Mughals had to procure provisions from the adjoin--ing districts to feed themselves![115] After handing over this fort to Nazr Bahadur,116, Akbar by a six-day march[117] reached Kotah[118] where again the fort was found deserted.[119] Shah Muhammad Qandhari received Kotah[120] and Akbar marched upon Gagarun.[121] From Gagarun an army was sent against the Mirzas in Malwa under Shahbuddin Ahmed Khan, Shah Bidat Khan,[122] Muhammad Murad Khan[123] and Haji Muhammad Sistani.[124] The Mirzas, on hearing about the arrival of the imperialists upon Ujjain, fled

to Gujarat and joined Chingiz Khan.[125] Baz Bahadur, the ex-ruler of Malwa, also similarly fled Mewar and - - threaded his way to Bagalana.[126] This again necessiated the conquest of Gujarat in near future by Akbar for which the conquest of Chittor became the first necessity because it commanded the plain stretching into Gujarat from Agra. Thus the indirect result of this flow of political refugees from Malwa to Gujarat was expressed in the fortification of Akbar in his resolution of the conquest of the plain of Mewar at any cost.

While Akbar was encamped at Gagarun for arranging the despatch of the expeditionary force to Malwa against the Mirzas, Asaf Khan and Wazir Khan were sent to con-quer Mandalgadh, held in command by ~~Rawal~~ Ballu Solanki.[127] Ballu Solanki and his son Bhavanidas fled the fort without fighting.[128] The garrison was easily reduced and the fort fell but not without some bloodshed.[129] Confirmed in his belief about the weakness of Mewar by the easy conquests of Mandalgadh, Kotah and Sivi Supar, Akbar moved with a small force of 3- 4,000 cavalry[130] to entice Udai Singh into an open warfare by the smallness of the invading force.[131] Udai Singh, however, refused to oblige the emperor.[131] Akbar reached Chittor on Oct. 20, 1567 A.D.[132] (In this way having started for Chittor from Dholpur in the middle of September it took Akbar one full month to cover the distance of 240 miles between Dholpur and Chittor. It suggests that the journey was not so smooth as the deliberate silence of the Muslim historians about the events on the way might convey.

UDAI SINGH'S PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE MUGHALS:

Udai Singh had already strengthened the fort of Chittor and collected an army with all the necessary provisions with the help and advice of his ministers;[133] because since the conquest of Malwa by Akbar he had premonition about the Mughal attack on Mewar. The report of Shakti Singh had strengthened, and the conquests of Sivi Supar, Kotah and Mandalgadh further confirmed those fears.[134] An urgent meeting of the military chiefs was called.[184] Rao Jaimal, Rawat Sanyidas Chundawat, Rao Ballu Solanki, Dodiya Bhan, Rao Sangramsingh, Rawat Sahib Khan, Rawat Fatah Singh (Patta) Jaggawat of Amet, Rawat Nensi, Pratap Singh, Shakti Singh, etc. attended it.[135] The Rana explained them his fears about the attack on Chittor and revealed them his determination to stay and fight the invaders. The ministers and the nobles advised the Rana to evacuate the fort with his family.[136] The Rana finally agreed to it after a great deal of persuasion on the part of his ministers[136] ~~as a part of the strategy~~ to strike the invaders from behind when they were pinned down in the plains of Chittor to reduce the fort.[137] The Mughals, rendered immobile by the siege, were to be ~~xx~~ harrassed by the Sisodias outside the fort by hit and fly strategy. Udai Singh left ample provisions in the form of ammunition, guns, food-stuff, clothes, etc capable of lasting for years.[138] He entrusted the defence of Chittor to Rao Jaimal of Badnor,[139] assisted by Rawal Fatah Singh (~~miscalled~~ Patta) of Amet,[140] Sanyidas Rathor b/o Jaimal[141] etc., with about 8,000 soldiers[142]

and left Chittor for hills.[143] The country around the fort was devastated by the Sisodias.[144] The valuable articles of the treasury of Chittor were removed to Kumbhalner.[145]

WHEN DID UDAI SINGH LEAVE CHITTOR?

As regards the time when Udai Singh left Chittor, Amar Kavya[146] says that it took place after the fall of Mandalgadh and before the arrival of the Mughals at Chittor. Al Badaoni[147] purports to say that Udai Singh evacuated the fort after Akbar had reached, but not left, Gagarun. Abul Fazl,[148] Farishta[149] and Nizam-uddin Ahmad[150] hold that Chittor was evacuated by Udai Singh when Akbar left Gagarun; while Maulana Ahmad[151] tells us that when Akbar was 200 miles from Chittor, Udai Singh left this fort. We are further informed that Udai Singh left this fort in the charge of Jaimal and retired into hilly region with full confidence that for the want of siege train Akbar will not attempt at the seige of Chittor.[152] The native sources of Mewar, on theother hand, unanimously hold that it was during the siege that Udai Singh evacuated the fort.[153] This view is contradicted by Akbar Nama which tells us that the knowledge of the evacuation of Chittor by Udai Singh reached Akbar before the siege had began; and in spite of the absence of the Rana, Akbar decided upon capturing the fort by a siege.[154] Dayaldas,[155] on the other hand, informs us that Udai Singh pierced through the ranks of the Mughals by

cutting his way out of Chittor. These conflicting authorities cannot be reconciled without taking a serious notice of the advance party sent by Akbar under Asaf Khan to move against Mewar via Baina, Basavar and Wazirpur side.[156] Two parties had arrived in Mewar for attack. One came from the northern direction through the plain between Ajmer and Mandalgadh under Asaf Khan and the other came from the eastern side via Gagarun, under the personal command of Akbar. When Akbar was detained at Gagarun for some time for making arrange--ments for the expedition against the Mirzas, Asaf Khan, possibly reached Chittor. Udai Singh cut his way through this party and went away into the hills. It would have happened about the time when Akbar left Gagarun but before he reached Chittor, i.e. in the beginning of Oct. 1567 A.D. So Udai Singh did clash with the Mughal army (cf. Dayaldas) but not with the party led by Akbar. He had already left Chittor when the emperor reached there.[157]

WHERE DID UDAI SINGH GO FROM CHITTOR?

Again, there is no unanimity amongst the auth--orities about the whereabouts of Udai Singh after his exit from Chttor. All the Vanshavalis are silent about it. So are Amar Kavya and Rana Raso. Al Badaoni[158] says that he 'took refuge in the neighbourhood of Udaipur and Komalnair'. Muhnot Nensi[159] and Abul Fazl[160] support this view. Tabkat-i-Akbari[161] simply mentions his 'refuge in the hills and jungles' but does not

name the place. Raval Rana ki Vat,[162] on the contrary, holds that during the four months of the Mughal siege of Chittor, Udai Singh stayed at Raj Pipalia in Reva Kantha. As the majority of the cited authorities contradict the view of Raval Rana ki Vat, it appears probable that Udai Singh was in the Girwa hills, near Gogunda and Koliyari, during the most part of the time of this siege.

When Akbar was approaching the fort of Chittor he learnt about the departure of Udai Singh to some mountain place. Akbar did not think it proper to pursue him into the mountains,[163] in spite of his urgent desire to do so,[164] because of the perils in this aventure[165]. Hence, instead of chasing the Rana into the Girwa region between Udaipur and Kumbhalner, it was decided to besiege the fort of Chittor.[166]

THE SIEGE OF CHITTOR BY AKBAR.

On Oct., 20, 1567 A.D. Akbar arrived in the vicinity of the fort of Chittor[166] and next day[167] reconni--tred it.[168] It was estimated by the Mughal engineers that the siege line was to be 10 miles in circum--ference and one mile and a half in width.[169] As no siege train had been brought along with him by Akbar the siege operations could not be seriously undertaken immediately. However, the people at hand were fixed into a sort of a siege arrangement.[170] Those who were to come were appointed in proxy and on their arrival they took up their assignments.[171] The battery brought

with the emperor was, right from the day of his arrival, fixed in firing position.[172] As there was no time for calling large martars from the imperial magazine at the capital, a large cannon capable of delivering balls of half a 'man' was cast at Chittor under the supervi--sion of Akbar himself![172] The units arriving later had their own battery units and received assignments accord--ing to their capacities![172] The fort was well defended by the guards on the battlements who laughed at the efforts of a small army sitting down to besiege the fort six miles in length and one mile in width.[173] It took one month for the remaining units to arrive and fall into their assigned posts which completed the circuit of the siege![174] Thus in the third or the fourth week of Nov., 1567 A.D. the siege of Chittor began in all earnestness. Due to the harrassing activities of the Sisodias from Rampura and Girwa sides,[175] expeditions were undertaken by the Mughals to reduce these regions. Asaf Khan was sent along with certain other officers against the Chandrawats of Rampura[176]. Rampura, the newly founded capital of the Chandrawats by Rao Durgabhan,[177] was 'one of the populous town of the country![178] Asaf Khan stormed[179] and conquered the fort of Rampura,[179] ravaged[180] and devastated the country[181] and then returned to Chittor to receive the approbation of the emperor for his services.[182] Similarly, Hussain Quli Khan was sent into the inner Girwa region of Udaipur[183] and Kumbhalner[184] in search of the Rana[185] because Kumbhalner[186] and Udaipur

were reported to be the seats of the Rana's government.[187] Hussain Quli Khan attacked and revaged Udaipur,[188] and w went in the direction of Kumbhalner.[189] Abul Fazl either misunderstands or misstates when he speaks about the appearance of several Sisodia units and their disper--sion as so many victories of the Khan.[190] They were guerilla bands which attacked the Mughal units, engaged them and melted away.[190] Hussain Quli Khan returned to Chittor after destroying most of the towns and villages which fell on his way[191] but without establishing any military post in the Girwa region. It is claimed that the Mughals received 'much' plunder from this expedition.[192]

During these days Surtan, the dispossessed ruler of Bundi, conspired with some Mughal officers posted at Lakheri and bribed them to attack the fort of Bundi. Ram Singh, brother of Surjan Hada, made two night attacks on the Mughal camp, and put them to flight after capturing the Mughal artillery. Later on he returned these fire-arms as a gesture of friendliness to these officers. So they complained against Surtan to Akbar. The emperor rebuked Surtan for attacking Bundi without proper authorization.[193]

The Mughals made spirited attacks on the fort under Adil Khan and Khan Alam but the garrison repulsed them bravely. These raids cost heavily to the Mughals. The causalties mounted up to such high proportions that Akbar had to forbid such actions. Still many persisted in such adventures and perished.[194] On Akbar's command

three principal batteries were erected.[195] One of them worked from the spot opposite Lakhota ki Bari under the supervision of Hasan Khan Chagtai, Rai Patradas,[196] Qazi Ali Baghadadi,[197] Ikhtiyar Khan Faujdar and Kabir Khan.[198] The headquarters of Akbar were also fixed near this battery.[199] The second one was under the charge of Shujat Khan, Raja Todarmal and Qasim Khan Mir Barr-u Bahr, and worked opposite Surajpol Gate in the east.[200] The third battery unit was under Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan and Vazir Khan and operated before Chittori Burj in the south.[201] Several other small batteries operated around the fort from enclosures and protections built by themselves for shelter from the bullets and arrows of the garrison.[202] The cannon balls from the Mughal artillery units fell upon the rocks without harming the fort or its defenders.[203] The garrison made sorties from within in concert with the parties operating from outside the fort and did atmost harm to the invaders.[204] About a month after the beginning of the siege, i.e., about Dec., 1567 A.D. a severe engagement took place between the Sisodias and the Mughals.[205] No party could secure any advantage over its adversary. The defenders showered balls weighing half a 'man' and killed many Mughal horses, elephants and soldiers.[206] The expert gunn--ers in the fort under Jaimal Jamal Khan almost succeeded in silencing the Mughal batteries, an exploit which frightened Akbar greatly.[207] When the invaders could do nothing for a long time[208] and realized the failure of the

direct attack method,[209] Akbar, after consulting his nobles,[210] ordered for running mines under the walls,[211] for the construction of covered ways (called Sabats)[212] and for digging trenches.[213] Nearly 5,000 carpenters, builders, stone-masons, smiths and sappers, etc., were employed.[214] The eastern battery succeeded in buidding a 'sabat' of the length of a bow-shot from the hill and carried it to the foot of the fort.[215] One 'sabat' opposite the royal headquarters was so bread that ten horsemen could ride abreast in it and was high enough to let a rider on an elephant with upheld spear pass unobstructed.[216] The people in the fort had not seen any such construction so far.[217] They got puzzled. They also did their best to obstruct its progress.[217] About 7 to 8,000 horsemen made sallies from the fort to destroy them. From the ramparts missles were darted with the deadliest accuracy to kill the masons.[218] Jaimal's arrangement of raining arrows and balls on the besiegers and his successful defence of the first caused great apprehensions to the emperor.[219] Although the workers were protected by thick cow or buffalo hides yet more than a hundred workers lost their lives daily at the construction site.[220] Their blood became martar and bones became bricks of the 'sabats'.[221] Akbar scattered heaps of rupees to be taken at will by the masons as wages for working at these sites.[222] 'Silver and gold were reckoned at the rate of the earth'[223]. One Muhar for each basketful of earth was given as portage charge to

the labourers.[224] At last the 'sabats'[225] and the trenches reached the vicinity of the walls.[226] Two mines contiguous to each other were then ran under two towers.[227] On Dec. 17,1567 A.D. they were exploded.[228] One of them had 120 'mans' of gun-powder and the other 80.[229] Contrary to the advice of Akbar to have separate trains for igniting them, Kabir Khan and other artillerymen had one match for them both.[230] One mine with a shorter match exploded at once.[231] It tore down one of the two towers from its foundations and threw it up in the air,[232] which caused a big breach in the wall.[233] The defenders on the wall were also blown up.[234] A body of 2,000[235] chosen imperial servants, well armed and fully accoutred,[236] specially deputed to attack through the breaches, rushed to deliver an assault,[237] with wild war cries[238] in complete forgetfulness about the second mine.[239] They 'effected a lodging' into the breach and started a hand to hand fight[240] with a strong[241] detachment of the garrison[242]. At the time when this skirmish was at its hottest,[243] the other mine with a longer match exploded.[244] The second tower was also blown up.[245] Stones weighing 100 to 200 'mans' got detached from the hill and blew in the air and fell 6 to 8 miles away from the site.[246] The combatants were blown up and their limbs were scattered far round.[247] The report of this explosion, it is claimed, could be heard at a distance of 100 miles or more.[248] The premonitions of Akbar for a common match for the mines became true.[249]

Some defenders were blown up.[250] Out of 2,000 Mughal soldiers posed for the attack,[251] about 500 perished,[252] among them were 100 men of note,[253] chief among them being, Sayaid Jamaluddin(one of the Sayaids of Barha), Muhammad Saleh (s/o Mirak Kabuli), Yezdan Quli, Shah Ali Aishak Aqa, Hayat Sultan (s/o Mir Abdullah Bakhshi), Mirza Baluch Beg, Khan Beg, Yar Beg, b/o Sher Beg Yasavalbashi,[254] Mardan Quli Shah[255] and Mirak Bahadur.[256] About 40 Rajputs, who were hiding in mountain defiles and awaiting their chance to attack the Mughals, were buried alive in the earth and Bricks from the fort.[257] Eyes of the soldiers were affected by the vast quantity of smoke and dust which rose on the occasion.[258] - Besides the bigger one, several small breaches were also made in the wall.[259] The defenders ran up and engaged the Mughals bravely.[260] Their colleagues threw burning cotton-seeds into the breach and held up the Mughal advance.[261] The breach was healed up[262] after a short but bloody battle.[263] The absence of any refer--ence to the 'sabat' referred to above means that it was also destroyed by this upheaval. On the same day(i.e. December 17, 1567 A.D.) a mine in the battery of Asaf Khan was loaded with 108 'mans' of gun-powder[264] and exploded which, failed in achieving anything except killing 30 defenders of the fort.[265] The breach was soon repaired by the garrison.[266] The failure of these two attempts[267] further strengthened the determination of Akbar to reduce the fort at any cost.[268] New mines were

ordered to be constructed.[269]

JAIMAL'S PEACE OFFER

These recent Mughal failures[270] and the pushing of a 'sabat' from Shujat Khan's battery[271] led Jaimal to propose[272] through Rawat Sahib Khan Chauhan and Dodiya Sanda to enroll the garrison in the imperial service and to pay an annual tribute in return for the raising up of the siege by Akbar.[273] The failures and privations of the operations had reduced the spirit of the Mughal nobles to such an extent that they urged upon the emperor to accept the offer[274] which to Akbar was an ob--vious political trap. There was no word in it about the surrender of the fort; and who could guarantee faithful adherance to the terms by the garrison after the hostilities ceased and the emperor returned to Agra? Secondly, Akbar had marched expressly with a view to reduce the Rana and these terms at best offered the submission of the garrison, neither the fort but not the submission of the Rana. Thirdly, Akbar was too much teased by the stuborn opposition of the garrison and was now determined to take the fort by assault.[275] There was also the indirect motive of making an example of these Rajputs so that none in future might think of opposing the Mughal arms.[275] So these terms were rejected.[276] The siege and the defence of the fort went on. Akbar again busied himself with the construction of 'sabats'[277]

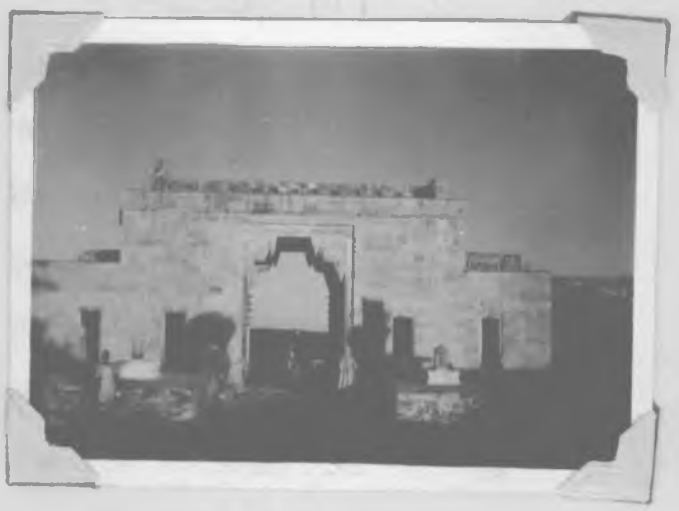
The artillery division in the garrison was

manned by Bakasariya Afgans[278] under the leadership of one Ismail Khan.[279] Once a shot from the walls near Chittori hill fell with a terrific noise near Akbar and killed 20 Mughals.[280] Another time a shot from an opening at Lakhota ki Bari narrowly missed Jalal Khan, a person by the aide of Akbar.[281] The emperor in his turn aimed at the musket projecting through that opening and killed Ismail Khan.[281] Meanwhile a 'sabat' was completed under the supervision of Todar Mal and Qasim Mir Barr-u Bahr in the battery of Shujat Khan on Feb.26,1568 A.D.[282] From his quarters on the top of the 'sabat'[283] Akbar personally directed its completion and the military operations ~~from that spot~~ for two nights and one day.[284] All the Mughal soldiers got collected there[285] and darted arrows, and shots with great affect upon the garrison[286] The Rajputs also offered a oppmxi magnificent opposition.[287] Akbar directed the cannonade in the fort[287] from the g guns placed on the top of the sabat[288] and also killed some Rajputs by his gun.[289] The walls were breached.[290] In spite of two nights and one day fighting which exhau--sted both the parties[291] the final phase of the war began with a big breach in the wall.[292] One half of the garrison rushed through the breach to obstruct the invaders and the other half threw oil, cloth, wood, cotton, etc.,into the opening to set fire to them in future to impede the assailants.[293] Jaimal fought very bravely through out that tk day and encouraged others

to fight courageously.[294] Meanwhile the Mughals breached the wall.[295] On Feb. 24, 1568 A.D. after night fall,[296] Akbar saw Jaimal[297] distinguished from the rest by his 'hazar-me=khi' armour,[298] directing the repairs of the breach from an adjoining wall.[299] The experor took his gun[300] Sangram[301] and fired at this knight.[302] After firing the bullet he told Bhagwandas and Shujat Khan that the lightness felt by him then was similar to that experienced when his victim fell dead by his shot.[303] Khan Jahan represented that the person in question was seen coming often to the breach before but ceased to come after the shot and as such was 'possibly' killed.[304] An hour later Jabbar Quli Divani reported that the garrison had withdrawn from the walls. Just at that time the leaping tongues of the bonfires were seen against the dark background of the serene sky for which several explanations were offered.[305] However, Bhagwandas informed the emperor that they were the marks of the last rites of the Rajputs, preparatory to their opening of the gates of the fort to the enemy to die with sword in hand, after burning their females, goods, valuables and children.[306] The emperor should expect the last general battle next morning the Raja added.[307]

DID RAO JAIMAL DIE BY AKBAR'S SHOT?

Referring to the shot injuring Jaimal Al Badaoni,[308], Tabkat-i- Akbari[309] and Farishta[310] are of the opinion that Jaimal was hit in his forehead and killed instaneously. Tarikh-i-Alafi[311] and Tizuk-i-



Surajpol, Chittor

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Jahangiri[312] tell us that Jaimal died by this shot but are silent about the place of injury suffered by Jaimal. Akbar Nama[313] diplomatically asserts that it was reported to Akbar that Jaimal was killed by his shot. Khulasa-i Tawarikh[314] and Chigata Badashahi,[315] on the other hand, inform us that the shot of Akbar killed a nephew of Jaimal. Banedan[316] admits injury to Jaimal but not his death. The Rani Nanga[317] account of the former Badnor estate says that Jaimal was struck in his legs and rendered lame by this shot. Amar Kavya at one place[318] says that Jaimal died instaneously by the shot, but at another place[319] it adds that since that day it came to be believed that Akbar's shot killed Jaimal. However, it should be noted that the breach, which Jaimal was repairing at the time of his being shot was created by the battery of Shujat Khan which operated before the eastern wall near Surajpol Gate. As such, had the Rao died by the bullet on the spot he would have fallen dead on the eastern wall and his cenetoph would have stopd near Surajpol Gate. Surprisingly, it is standing between Bhairav Pol and Rampol on the western side ot the fort. This clearly proves that Jaimal did not fall by the shot immediately but died afterwards, not even in his palace, which stands near the Kirti Stambh, but between Bhairav Pol and Rampol. A nephew of Rao Jaimal died by the shot which wounded the Rao. However, as Akbar had himself suggested that his victim was dead nobody could correct him. The absence of the Rao from the

breach immediately after this accident was interpretated by Khan Jahan as a proof of the death of Rao Jaimal. Abul Fazl accepted all this. The other historians followed Abul Fazl. So instead of saying that Rao's nephew died by this shot they tell us that the Rao himself died by it. Thus the myth became a fact. Dr. Gopinath quotes Amar Kavya in its support without noticing the proviso in its statement.

DECISION FOR JAUHAR:

Find the defence of the fort helpless in view of the ~~death~~ determined efforts of Akbar and the breaches in the wall, Jaimal proposed to his colleagues either to fight under some other elected leader or to perform 'Jauhar'. He advised for Jauhar.[320] Dr. Gopinath's[321] assertion that the garrison 'chose' Patta Chundawat of Amet 'as their next leader' after the death of Jaimal is wrong. It is equally wrong to attribute the decision to perform Jauhar to the death[322] or incapacity[323] of Jaimal. There were many ~~more~~ capable leaders in the fort in the person of Rawat Patta Jaggawat, Rawat Sanyidas Chundawat(Salumber), Rathor Isardas and others. The view that the decision to perform Jauhar owed its origin in the shortage of supplies[324] is also untenable in the light of the clear testimony of Amar Kavya, Akbar Nama, Farishta and Tarikh-i Alafi that the fort contained provisions capable of lasting for years[325] while the siege had lasted for four months only. Thus not the disability of Jaimal nor the shortage of supplies but the ~~breaches~~ breaches in the walls were chiefly responsible for Jauhar.[326]

The Third Saka of Chittor:

Jaimal threw all the wealth, ammunition, cannons, etc., in the fort into the Kukadeswara tank[327], a renowned stained-well in the fort of Chittor[328]. Jauhar fires were lit at three places[329], viz., the residencies of Rawat Patta Sisodia, Rathor Isardas and Ravat Sahib Khan Chauhan[330]. These bonfires were fed by the valuables of their households. When these fires leaped into devouring flames the Rajputs threw their ladeis and kiddies into them[331]. So The light of the Jauhar fires announced the plight of the garrison[332]. So anticipating a fierce fire next morning (Feb.24,1568 A.D.) the Mughals attacked the fort that very night. By a concerted action the Mughals breached the wall at many more places[333]. Many Rajputs who had no family in the fort opposed them firmly with a view to lay down their lives in the engagement[334]. A fierce fighting went on through out the night[335]. Adil Muhammad Qandhari, Khan-i Alam Jumla Khan, Jabbar Quli Dawani, amongst others received applause and praise from the Emperor for their valour during this battle in this night[336]. Some Rajputs fought valiently under Rawat Patta[337]. Akbar watched the progress of the battle from his seat on the top of the "sabat"[338]. In the early hours of the morning the Mughals succeeded in forcing their entry into the fort at many places[339]. When the morning broke out, Akbar ordered his soldiers to force themselves through the gates[340]. 40,000 imperialists consisting of Khurasanis, Kachhavahas, Rathors[341], Hadas, and Bundelas, etc., were gripped in a mortal battle with 8,000 Sisodias armed

with arrows, swords, spears and guns[343]. To crush the opposition of these resolute defenders 50 "active and experienced" elephants were led into the fort[344]. In their iron "hawdahs" small cannons were placed and the riders would use both the fire-arms and arrows as they desired[345]. The Rajput resistence was terrible. So more and more elephants were led into action till their figure reached the number 300[346]. Girdwaz Dhokar was first elephant to enter the fort; next followed Jangia, Sabdali Kadira, and others. After sun rise Akbar himself rode on a huge war-elephant[346] and participated in the battle with gun in hand[347]. Nobles and chiefs[348] followed him on foot[349]. The Rajputs opposed the Mughal elephants with their own[350]. The Mughal elephant Jangia killed 30 Rajputs by the time it lost its trunk and then also despatched 15 more before its death. Elephant Kadaria by chance fled into the fort, killing, trampling and driving several Rajputs by its mad movements. Elephant Madhokar also played a creditable part in this contest.[351] The Rajputs pierced the heads of the invading elephants with arrows and killed several of them. Isardas Chauhan of Bedala reached out to the elephant carrying Akbar, fought well before the emperor's eye[352] and died by the latter's bullet[353]. The imperial elephant Sabdalia also gave a good account of itself[354]. ~~Rawat Patta fought with his followers on foot~~ Isardas Rathor caught the tusks of Elephant Madhokar and wounded it[355]. Rawal Patta fought with his followers on foot[356] near the temple of Govind ~~Syham~~ Shyam and caused havoc amongst the Mughals by his

10

Jaimal's Cenotoph, Chittor

11

Kalla's Cenotoph, Chittor

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sword, spear and arrows[357]. He was crushed to death by an elephant whose driver presented his dying body to the emperor near that spot, rolled into the ~~tusk~~ trunk of the ~~elephant~~ animal[358]. The Rajputs fought in every lane, street and all other available places. Dead bodies in heaps were found everywhere[359]. Those who had retired to their houses or taken refuge in the temples came out at the approach of the invaders near the place of their refuge, fought bravely and died[360]. Several warriors, who had collected in the royal palace and Samidheswara Mahadeo Temple, came out in twose or threes to fight the enemy and die.[361] Similarly, many died near Rampol[362]. Rao Jaimal, being lame, mounted on the shoulders of his clansman Kalla and fought with two swords, one in each hand, till he died on the spot marked out even to this day in his memory between Bhairavapol and Rampol. Kalla also died fighting on a nearby spot[363]. Rawat Sanyidas[364], Amar Singh Chundawat of Salumber and his son ~~from Salumber~~[365], Dodiya Sanda[366], Rajarana Sultan Ajjavat of Bari Sadari[367], Raja Rana Jaitsing Sajjavat of Delvara[368], Rao Sangram Singh Chauhan and his younger brother Isardas of Bedala[369], Raot Sahib Khan of Kotharia[370] also fought very bravely and succumbed. Rao Jaimal's 1,000 followers died to a man. Ajit Singh, Rathor Kumpavat Udaibhan, Rathor Isardas (b/o Jaimal), Bhausingh, Dodiy Ramdas, Rathor Mansingh, Sonigara Rai Singh, ~~Parmar~~ Maldeo, Surjanot Rupsingh, Rathor Bhim Singh (commander of Mertia Rathors of Jaimal), Ahada Fatah Singh, Khadiya Surji and Shivad Purohit Rekhaji were the chief amongst them[371]. Patta Kumpawat[372], Parmar Maldeo, Karamsinghot[373]

Rathor Sanga Dalavat, Mahapa Pawar, Rajdhar Devidasot, Panchayan Maldeo, Mertia Arjun and Rathor Sardul also laid down their lives[374] along with the remaining soldiers of the garrison[375]. The family tradition of Badnor asserts that Phul Kumar Rathor (w/o Patta Chundawat and ~~s/o~~ sister of Rao Jaimal) also died, ~~with~~ w sword in hand[376], along with her mother-in-law Baisana Sonigari[377]. 30,000 imperialists were slain[378].

Massacre and Demolitions of Akbar in Chittor:-

Overwhelmed by the heavy losses during the siege and in the last fight[379] and also to make an example of his ferocity to overawe the defenders of other forts to be attacked in future[380], in spite of the entreaties for amnesty[381], Akbar ordered a general massacre of the civilian population of Chittor[382]. Akbar Nama defends this action by citing their participation in the defence of the fort[383]. Out of 40,000 peasants in the fort[384] 30,000 lost their lives[385] in this mad fury which continued till mid-day[386]. A large number of persons were taken prisoner[387]. Some spoil was also obtained[388]. The Afgan gunners, the special target of Akbar's wrath for their devotion to the defence of Chittor and their accurate markmanship on the besiegers, managed to pass through the Mughal lines by tying their dependents with ropes in the fashion of captives and fled away; the ignorance of the Mughals, who mistook them for their own people, helped in their escape[389]. Akbar returned to his camp after mid-day and stayed there for 3 days[390]. During this period

the battlements of the fort of Chittor were demolished.[391] Temples and houses were also pulled down[392]. Letters announcing this victory were sent to the different parts of the empire[393]. Akbar left Mewar on the plea of pilgrimage to Ajmer, leaving the management of the fort to Asaf Khan[394] at the head of a large army[395].

Cause of Akbar's Sudden Exit: An analysis

Here a very interesting point about the motive of Akbar in this sudden departure from Mewar provokes itself into our mind. In the light of the fact that Akbar had rejected the offer of the surrender of the garrison of Chittor on the plea that he wanted the Rana to submit, this pilgrimage appears all the more intriguing. Abul Fazl[396], Al Badaoni[397] and Nizamuddin Ahmad[398] have attempted to defend this exit on the ground that Akbar had taken a vow to that effect for invoking the help of the Kwaja in reducing the fort of Chittor. Nizamuddin[398] holds that Akbar walked all the way from Chittor to Ajmer. Abul Fazl[399], on the other hand, says that because of the special message of the Khwaja through Sahguna Qurawal, ~~the emperor permitted~~ sent by Akbar from Chittor to Ajmer to announce the imperial arrival, the emperor permitted himself to be conveyed. Thus Abul Fazl agrees with others about the vow and the pilgrimage but not about the details of the latter. Jahangir, Farishta and Maulana Ahmad do not mention this vow and the pilgrimage at all. These disagreements between the Muslim historians point to the fact that this myth of the vow and pilgrimage was not accepted even by

some of the contemporary historians. Those who accepted it have not given any date of the vow. The fact of the first reference to this vow about the time of the departure of Akbar from Chittor, and not before, also arouses out suspicion. Most probably the experience of Hussain Quli Khan in the Girwa region convinced Akbar about the futility of his plans to vanquish Udai Singh in that region[400]. However, once on record for his declaration to have the Rana in submission before him, Akbar could not leave Mewar without some stunt. So he gave out that he had taken a vow for making a pilgrimage to Ajmer on foot, if he succeeded in reducing Chittor. The change in the plan of walking to Ajmer and Akbar's consent to his being "conveyed" might be, possibly, due to the increased Sisodia activities in pursuing the retiring Mughals. Another reason which explains this sudden exit of Akbar from Mewar was the loss of about 50,000 soldiers[401] in conquering the fort of Chittor, which yielded him no other wealth except bones of the fallen heroes, ashes of the immolated ladies, and some low caste females. ~~for some soldiers~~. The entire Mewar yielded him nothing more than two denuded forts of Mandalgadh and Chittor, and a promiscuous hold on the plains in the east of Girwa[402]. The failure of Akbar to return from Ajmer to complete his conquest of the remaining portion of Mewar is a proof not only of his failure but also of his inordinate losses in the present siege of Chittor. For this reason the chroniclers of Mewar represent the outcome of this Mughal-Sisodia clash as a

victory of Udai Singh[403]. And they are to a great extent right. By corollary, it might be said that Akbar did not get an easy ~~victory~~ success in Mewar as claimed by some Hindu poets of the Mughal court[404].

Akbar's Commemoration of his Conquest of Chittor:

To commemorate this "victory" Akbar struck a silver coin at Chittor in which the letter "Gā" in Devanagari script is most prominent. The Persian legend on its obverse side reads : "Sikka Mubarak Badshah Gazi Akbar Manus". According to the common-belief the letter "Gā" refers to "Gāya Māryā rā pāp."[405] which is incorrect. It seems to stand for "Gāzī". Two kettle-drums, two cauldrums, one bell, one gold lamp and one ~~silver~~ pair of silver gates (all, possibly, from some temple) were taken away by Akbar to be presented to the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti of Ajmer[406].

Akbar's Appreciation of Jaimal and Patta:

Akbar left Mewar with a fair respect for the Sisodia blade. He often praised their heroism in his later life[407]. To demonstrate his appreciation of the bravery of Rao Jaimal and Rawat Patta, he had their statues ~~pl~~ placed on both the sides of the main gate of Agra fort. They are shown as riding on elephants[408]. This helped in spreading the name of these warriors in distant lands.[409] So their images are even today also found in a temple in Nepal and at the gates of the fort of Bikaner[410].

FOOTNOTES

(1) Al Badaoni II/25-6. The fort of Ranthambhor was surrendered to Sher Shah (Akbar Nama I/400) by Abul Farah, the governor of Qadir Shah of Malwa, who, in his turn, had acquired it after the death of Bahadur Shah from the forces of Gujarat (Tarikh-i Sher Shahi, (Allahabad MS), leaf 185).

(2) Nensi I/60.

(3) Ain-i Akbari (Second edi.), I/482.

(4) ibid., I/482; Akbar Nama II/133

(5) Tab. II/234.

(6) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2246.

(7) ibid., pp.2218-19.

(8) Akbar Nama II/133; Tab. II/234; Al Badaoni II/26; Farishta II/232; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

(9) cf. Nensi I/60,111.

(10) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2248.

(11) cf. Al Badaoni II/26.

(12) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2248.

(13) Al Badaoni II/26. See also Mirat-i Sikandari, p.179; Tab. III/400; Farishta IV/157.

(14) Al Badaoni II/26. See also Ain-i Akbari (Second edi.), I/482. Abul Fazl attributes this failure, partly, to ill-luck and, partly, to the confusion consequent upon the fall of Bairam Khan.

(15) Al Badaoni II/26.

(16) Nensi I/60,110.

(17) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2248.

(18) Akbar Nama II/133.

(19) Al Badaoni II/26.

(20) Akbar Nama II/133; Tab. II/234.

(21) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2246.

(22) Akbar Nama II/133; Tab. II/234. Al Badaoni (II/29) calls him Hussain Khan.

(23) Al Badaoni II/29.
(23a) Amar Kavya, leaf 33(a).
(24) Al Badaoni II/29; Akbar Nama II/133; Tab.II/234.

(25) Akbar Nama II/133; Al Badaoni II/29.

(26) Tab. II/234.

(27) Akbar Nama II/133; Al Badaoni II/29.

(28) Tab. II/234.

(29) Vansha Bhaskar, p.2246.

(30) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(a); Nensi I/60; Akbar Nama II/103.

(31) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1304; Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(b).

(32) Amar Kavya, leaf 32(b).

(33) ibid.,leaf 32(b). Vir Vinod (II/72) says that Udai Singh was proceeding to Eklingji to pay respects to the ~~ea~~ patron-deity of the ~~Amar~~ Ranas on the occasion of the birth of Amar Singh on April 13,1560 A.D.

(34) The region within the range of 10 miles around Udaipur is called Girwa (Nensi I/2).

(35) Nensi I/2,56.

(36) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhoyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(b). Lad Kumar,d/o Rao Bhana, is mentioned as one of the wives of Sanga (Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf 2(b)).

(37) Nensi I/2.

(38) Vanshavali ~~of~~ 867, leaf 23(b); Hur Patra in the

collection of Pandit Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur (See Appendix HH).

(39) Vanshavali 867, leaf 23(b).

(40) A number of copper-plates recorded in Chief Commissoner's Office, Udaipur, testify to the grants of land in Girwa by Udai Singh about this period (See Appendix II).

(41) He is simply called Singh Rathor in Vanshavali 867, leaf 23(b). However, Badava Devidan (Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 3(a)) has given his name as Bana Singh Devada.

(42) Vanshavali 867, leaf 23(b). Sanyidas is ~~by mistake~~ called Savaldas in this khyat.

(43) Amar Kavya, leaf 34(b). Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat (leaf 20(b)) says that the foundation-stone of this dam was laid in 1558 A.D. and in 1560 A.D. Raval Sanyidas started seriously.

(44) Vanshavali 867, leaf 23(b).

(45) Mensi I/2.

(46) ibid.,I/57.

(47) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 21(a). The site of this palace is called Moti Magari.

(48) ibid.,leaf~~21~~ 21(a).

(49) Amar Kavya, leaves 34(b)-35(a). A Hur Patra gives Nov.15,1569 A.D. for it. See Appendix HH.

(50) ibid.,~~354~~ leaf 35(a); Raj Prashasti IV/9.

(51) Vir Vinod II/152-53.

(52) cf. Amar Kavya, leaves 35(a)-(b).

(53) ibid.,leaf 35(a).

(54) ibid.,leaf 35(a); Bavavet, leaf 4. For the text of

of the Davavet see Appendix D.

(55) Amar Kavya, leaf 35(b).

(56) cf. Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1511.

(57) Muni Nyaya Vijayaji: Jain Tirtho na Itihas, p.373.

(58) Prithviraj Kachhvaha was the father-in-law of Rana Ratansi (Badava Devidan, op. cit.,leaf 2(b)).

(59) Nensi II/9 n.1.

(60) ibid.,II/13 n.1.

(61) Ain-i Akbari (Blochman),pp.328-29; Akbar Nama II/36, 70; Maasir-ul Umara I/410.

(62) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(b). See also Akbar Nama II/103 and Nensi I/60.

(63) Ain-i Akbari I/329; Maasir-ul Umara I/410.

(64) Ain-i Akbari I/329; Maasir.,I/410-11; Farishta II/208; Tab. III/258; Akbar Nama II/241-43. See also Al Badaoni II/45.

(65) Tab. II/258; Farishta II/208; Akbar Nama II/243.

(66) Tab. II/259; Farishta II/208; Akbar Nama II/248; Al Badaoni II/46; Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(b); Bankedan item 1302 to 1308.

(67) Tab. II/259-60; Farishta II/109; Akbar Nama II/250; Al Badaoni II/46; Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 46(b); Bankedan, item 1309.

(68) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1513.

(69) Tab. II/262,III/632; Farishta II/210-11; Ain. I/429; Akbar Nama II/261; Al Badaoni II/46; Amar Kavya, leaf 33(b).

(70) Farishta IV/279.

(71) Rathoran ki Khyat, leaf 57(b).

(72) ibid, leaf 57(a); Amar Kavya, leaf 33(b).

(73) cf. Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 45(a); Bankedan,item1550.

(74) Rathoran ri Khyat, leaf 47(b).

(75) Mensi II/417.

(76) Tab.II/272.

(77) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1511.

(78) Tab. II/272.

(79) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1511.

(80) Vanshavali 867, leaf 22(a).

(81) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1511.

(82) ibid, item 1512. MM Oza (Raj. Iti., II/725 n.2) and Dr. Gopinath (op. cit.,p.67) hold that Jaimal came to Mewar,straight from Merta,after his defeat at the hands of Sharfuddin in 1562 A.D. Dr. Gopinath quotes Tab. (II/268) and Al Badaoni (II/105) in his support. Both these authorities have confused Jaimal with his younger brother Jagmal (Farishta II/209) who held Merta on behalf of Maldeo (Jaimalvanshaprakash, I/108).

(83) Bankedan ki Aitihasik Vatan, item 1513.

(84) ibid.,item 1513; Colophon of "Shri Dharma Nripa Katha" (See Appendix JJ).

(85) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(b).

(86) Ain. I/462; Tab. II/326-27; Farishta II/226; Faizi Sirhindi: Akbar Nama, Elliot VI/123-24; Maasir-ul Umara (Second edi.),II/207; Akbar Nama II/425-33.

(87) Ain. I/519.

(88) Tab. II/341; Akbar Nama II/443; Farishta II/229.

(89) Ain. I/519.

(90) ibid.,I/398; Maasir. I/39; Tab. II/341; Al Badaoni

(91) Al Badaoni II/105.

(92) ibid.,II/105; Ain. I/398; Maasir.,I/39; Tab.II/341.

(93) Akbar Nama II/442.

(94) ibid.,II/442;Tab.II/341-42; Al Badaoni II/105; Ain.I/585.

(95) Akbar Nama II/442.

(96) ibid.,II/442.

(97) Maasir. II/762; Mirat-i Alam (MS without pagination). The plea of Faizi Sirhindi (Akbar Nama, Elliot VI/124) that Akbar changed his idea of chasing personally the Mirzas after reaching Gagrun is incorrect.

(98) Maasir. (II/762) says that Shakti Singh was "one of his (Akbar's) servants".

(99) Akbar Nama II/443.

(100) ibid.,II/442-43; Ain. I/579; Maasir. II/762; Mirat-i Alam (without pagination).

(101) Akbar Nama II/443; Ain. I/519; Maasir. II/762; Mirat-i Alam (without pagination).

(102) Amar Kavya, leaf 35(b).

(103) Akbar Nama II/443.

(104) ibid, II/442-43.

(105) Maasir. II/762.

(106) Mirat-i Alam (without pagination).

(107) Akbar Nama II/443; Ain. I/519; Maasir. II/762; Mirat-i Alam (without pagination)

(107a) Khuman Raso, verses 3291-98.

(108) Cotrou(History of the Mughal Dynasty in India,p.258) says, ~~that~~"The states of the Rana were only 12 days march from Delhi".

(109) Dayaldas: Rana Raso, verse 163. Dr. Gopinath (op.

cit.,p.68) follows this view.

(110) Vansha Bhaskar, pp.2268-69.

(111) Tab.II/342; Al Badaoni II/105.

(112) Akbar Nama II/443.

(113) ibid.,II/444; Al Badaoni II/105; Farishta II/299; Tab. II/342. Sivi Supar is 120 SW of Agra.

(114) Akbar Nama II/444; Tab. II/342.

(115) Akbar Nama II/444.

(116) ibid.,II/444; Al Badaoni II/105; Tab. II/342. See also Maasir. (Second edi.),II/762.

(117) Akbar Nama II/444.

(118) ibid.,II/444; Al Badaoni II/105; Tab. II/342. Al Badaoni calls it Kotah Balayat.

(119) Inferred from the absence of any reference to any engagement in reducing this fort.

(120) Akbar Nama II/444; Al Badaoni II/105; Tab. II/342. See also Maasir. II/762.

(121) Akbar Nama II/444; Al Badaoni II/105; Farishta II/229; Tab. II/342.

(122) Akbar Nama II/462; Farishta II/229; Al Badaoni II/105 Tab. II/342; Faizi Sirhindi: Akbar Nama, Elliot VI/124. Tab. adds the names of Muhammad Murad Khan and Haji Muhammad Sistani to this list.

(123) Tab. II/342; Akbar Nama II/406.

(124) Tab. II/342; Akbar Nama II/462; Ain. I/406.

(125) Tab. II/342; Al Badaoni II/105; Farishta II/229; The Arabic History of Gujarat II/499,505; Maasir. II/847 Faizi Sirhindi: Akbar Nama, Elliot VI/124; Mirat-i Sikandari, p.293. Faizi Sirhindi calls Chingiz Khan

"the ruler of Gujarat".

(126) Akbar Nama II/516; Ain. (Second edi.),I/474. Makhzen Afgani (I/178) wrongly calls it Bengal.

(127) Amar Kavya, leaf 35(b); Akbar Nama II/464.

(128) Nensi I/218. Nensi's view that Mandalgadh was captured after the conquest of Ranthambhor by Akbar is incorrect. Abul Fazl does not mention the absence of the commandant from Mandalgadh (Akbar Nama II/464)

(129) Akbar Nama II/464. See also Maasir. (Second edi.),p p.762.

(130) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/169.

(131) ibid, Elliot V/170; Akbar Nama II/464.

(132) Akbar Nama II/464-65.

(133) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(b).

(134) ibid., leaf 36(a).

(135) oza: Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, I/412; Vir Vinod II/74-

(136) Dayaldas: Rana Raso, verses 213-26. See Appendix KK.

(137) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(a).

(138) ibid., leaf 36(a); Akbar Nama II/464; Farishta II/229 Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170. The plea of Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/170) and Akbar Nama (II/464) that Udai Singh evacuated the fort after fortifying and garrisoning it on the strength of the belief that Akbar, with only 4,000 troopers ~~only~~ and without any siege-train, would not dare to invest it, is incorrec

(139) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(a); Tab. II/343; Ain.I/398; Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(a).

(140) cf. His cenetoph in the fort of Chittor near Rampol.

(141) Bankedan, item 1473; Ratansi Isar: Kavitta Jaimal

Viramdevot ra (See Appendix LL), verse 17.

(142) Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/170) and Farishta (II/229) give 8,000. Tab. (II/343) gives 7 or 8,000 and Akbar Nama (II/464) gives 5,000. Al Badaoni is silent on this point. Amar Kavya (leaf 36(a)) says, "thousands" without specifying any figure.

(143) Except Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/170), no contemporary authority has described the evacuation of Chittor by Udai Singh as "flight". Tab. (II/343) says that he "took shelter in high mountains and thickly wooded forests". (Elliot (V/325) translates this passage as "took shelter in the hills and jungles"). Akbar Nama (II/464) says "retired"; Ain. (I/398), "withdrew"; Farishta (II/279), "retired"; Al Badaoni (II/106), "took shelter" and "left"; Maasir. (II/762), "hid himself" and Muhammad Hadi (Tazkiratus Salatin-i Chagtai (MS SBU; leaf 223), "retired". For an elaborate treatment of reasons for the evacuation of Chittor by Udai Singh, see Tiwari: "Maharana Udai Singh, the Great" (Journal of University of Bombay, XXX/4-pp.1-9).

(144) Akbar Nama II/464.

(145) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(a). Rana Rasa (verse 171) poetically says that what to talk of trees even water was not available to the invaders.

(146) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(a).

(147) Al Badaoni II/105-6.

(148) Akbar Nama II/464.

(149) Farishta II/229.

(150) Tab. II/343.

(151) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/169-70.

(152) Akbar Nama II/464; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(153) Rana Raso, verse 227; Vanshavali 828, leaf 66(a); Vanshavali 872, p.140.

(154) Akbar Nama II/464.

(155) Dayaldas: Rana Raso, verse 227.

(156) Al Badaoni II/105; Tab. II/341; Maasir. I/39; Ain. I/398.

(157) cf. Akbar Nama II/464.

(158) Al Badaoni II/105.

(159) Nensi I/57.

(160) Akbar Nama II/465.

(161) Tab. II/343.

(162) Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 101(a).

(163) Akbar Nama II/464; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(164) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(165) Akbibid, Elliot V/170; Akbar Nama II/170.

(166) Akbar Nama II/464.

(167) ibid.,II/465.

(168) ibid.,II/465; Amar Kavya, leaf 36(a).

(169) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(b).

(170) Akbar Nama II/465; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(171) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(172) Akbar Nama II/465.

(173) Tab. II/343.

(174) Albar Nama II/465; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(175) cf. Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(b)

(176) Al Badaoni II/105-6; Akbar Nama II/465; Tab.II/343.

(177) Nensi I/97.

(178) Tab. II/343.

(179) Akbar Nama II/465; Al Badaoni II/106; Tab.II/343; Maasir., II/762.

(180) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab.II/343.

(181) Tab.II/343.

(182) Akbar Nama II/465.

(183) ibid.,II/465; Tab.II/343; Al Badaoni II/106.

(184) Akbar Nama II/465; Tab.II/343.

(185) Akbar Nama II/465; Ain. I/330.

(186) Tab. II/343.

(187) Akbar Nama II/465.

(188) Al Badaoni II/106; Maasir. II/762. See also Tab.II/343.

(189) Akbar Nama II/465.

(190) cf. Vansha Bhaskar, Mayukh 188, verses 79-80.

(191) Tab. II/343. See also Maasir.,II/762.

(192) Akbar Nama II/465.

(193) Vansha Prakash, p.111.

(194) Akbar Nama II/466.

(195) ibid.,II/466-67.

(196) ibid.,II/467; Maasir.,I/411.

(197) Akbar Nama II/467. See also Ain. I/598.

(198) Akbar Nama II/467. It was defended by Jaimal (Kaviraja Shyamaldas: Vir Vinod, II/75); Oza: Udai.Iti. I/413.

(199) Vir Vinod II/75.

(200) Akbar Nama II/467. It was defended by Rawat Sanyidas (Vir Vinod II/75; Udai. Iti.,I/414.

(201) Akbar Nama II/467. It was defended by Ballu Solanki (Vir Vinod II/76; Udai. Iti.,I/414).

(202) Akbar Nama II/466-67.
(203) ibid.,II/466; Amar Kavya, leaf 36(b).
(204) Vansha Bhaskar, pp.2254 ff.

(205) Amar Kavya, leaf 36(b).

(206) ibid, leaf 36(b).

(207) ibid., leaf 36(b). See also Akbar Nama II/466.

(208) Tab.II/343; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171.

(209) cf. Akbar Nama II/466; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171.

(210) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(a).

(211) ibid.,leaf 37(a); Akbar Nama II/466;Tab.II/343-44.

(212) Tab.II/344; Al Badaoni II/106; Farishta II/229-30; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171. Akbar Nama speaks of one "sabat" while Tarikh-i Alafi about two.

(213) Al Badaoni II/106; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171.

(214) Tab.II/344; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171. See also Farishta II/229.

(215) Akbar Nama II/467; Tab. II/344.

(216) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/344. See also Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171.

(217) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/171-72.

(218) cf. ibid.,Elliot V/171-72; Akbar Nama II/267;T Tab. II/344.

(219) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(a).

(220) ibid, .eaf 37(a); Akbar Nama II/469. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/172) and Tab. (II/344) say that about 100 lost their lives daily. Al Badaoni (II/106) simply remarks that "many men" of the Mughal army were killed.

(221) Tab.II/344; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172; Al Badaoni II/106.

(222) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172; Akbar Nama II/467.

(223) Akbar Nama II/467-68.

(224) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(b).

(225) Tab.II/344; Al Badaoni II/106; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172. Farishta (II/230) refers to two "sabat-s" in this connection.

(226) Al Badaoni II/106.

(227) ibid.,II/106; Farishta II/230; Akbar Nama II/468. Tab. (II/344) speaks of a 'cavity' under two towers. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/171) says "mines under two towers".

(228) Akbar Nama II/468.

(229) ibid.,II/468. Amar Kavya (leaf 37(a)) says that they were filled with 120 and 109 "mans" of gun-powder respectively.

(230) Akbar Nama II/468-69.

(231) ibid.,II/468; Al Badaoni II/106; Farishta II/231; Tab. II/345; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot II/230.

(232) Tab.II/345; Al Badaoni II/106; Akbar Nama II/468.

(233) Tab. II/345; Al Badaoni II/106; Akbar Nama II/468; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/468; Farishta II/230.

(234) Akbar Nama II/468; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(235) Farishta II/231. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/172) gives only 3-400 soldiers.

(236) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/344-45.

(237) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/345; Farishta II/231; Akbar Nama II/468; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(238) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(239) Al Badaoni II/106; Akbar Nama II/468.

(240) Al Badaoni II/106. Farishta (II/231) says that the the invading party simply got close to the breach,

Akbar Nama (II/468) also agrees with Farishta.

(241) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(242) ibid.,V/172; Al Badaoni II/106.

(243) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(244) ibid, Elliot V/172; Akbar Nama II/468; Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/345.

(245) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/345.

(246) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/345; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172. Tarikh-i Alafi says that stones of 50 to 100 "mans" in weight were thrown up to the distance of 4 to 6 miles.

(247) Akbar Nama II/468; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot, V/172.

(248) Akbar Nama II/468. However, Amar Kavya (leaf 37(b)) says that its sound was reported over a distance of 10 miles.

(249) Akbar Nama II/468-69.

(250) Tab. (II/345) says, "...of the heathens also a multitude perished". Al Badaoni (II/107) says, "... of the Hindus who can say how many". Farishta (II/231) says, "...a number of enemy". Akbar Nama (II/468) says, "...a body of opponents ... were involved in the catastrophe". Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/172) says, "...vast number of the garrison were killed".

(251) cf. Farishta II/231.

(252) Al Badaoni II/106; Tab. II/345. Akbar Nama (II/469) gives only 200.

(253) Akbar Nama II/469.

(254) Tab.II/345. See also Akbar Nama (II/469) and Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/172). Akbar Nama gives Janz Beg in place of Khan Beg.

(255) Farishta II/231.

(256) Akbar Nama II/469.

(257) ibid.,II/469.

(258) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(259) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(260) Akbar Nama II/469.

(261) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(262) Akbar Nama II/469. See also Al Badaoni II/107.

(263) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(264) ibid, leaf 37(b).

(265) Akbar Nama II/469.

(266) ibid, II/469. See also Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(267) Farishta II/231.

(268) Tab.II/345; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/172.

(269) Farishta II/231.

(270) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(271) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(272) ibid.,Elliot V/173; Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b). Akbar Nama's view (II/467) that these terms were offered before the mines disaster is hardly convincing.

(273) Akbar Nama II/467. See also Niccolus Manucci: Storia Do Mogor (Irvine Tr.),II/130. Kalandan Charan (Vansha Badadavali, leaf 5(a)) says that Akbar proposed to Jaimal to surrender the fort to the Mughals and receive it back in reward. The colophon of this MS gives Feb.24,1868 A.D. So it is too recent to deserve any serious attention. For the text of ~~the~~ its colophon see Appendix MM.

(274) Akbar Nama II/467.

(275) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(276) Akbar Nama II/467.

(277) ibid.,II/470; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(278) Vir Vinod II/82 n.1.

(279) Akbar Nama II/470.

(280) ibid.,II/470; Amar Kavya, leaf 36(b).

(281) Akbar Nama II/470.

(282) ibid.,II/471; Tab. II/345-46.

(283) Akbar Nama II/471; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173. See also Farishta II/231.

(284) Akbar Nama II/471.

(285) Tab. II/356; Al Badaoni II/107.

(286) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(287) Akbar Nama II/471.

(288) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(b).

(289) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(290) Al Badaoni II/107; Tab. II/346. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/173) and Akbar Nama (II/471) say that several breaches were made in the walls.

(291) Akbar Nama II/471.

(292) Tab. II/346; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(293) Akbar Nama II/471.

(294) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(295) Akbar Nama II/471.

(296) ibid.,II/471; Al Badaoni II/107; Tab. II/346. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/173) says that it was the time of evening prayers. Bankedan (item 1486) says that it was mid-night.

(297) Tab. II/346; Al Badaoni II/107; Farishta II/231.

(298) Akbar Nama II/471; Bankedan, item 1486.

(299) Akbar Nama II/472; Farishta II/231; Amar Kavya

Leaf 37(b). Tab. (II/346) and Al Badaoni (II/107) hold that his face was seen by Akbar in the light of the sparks emitted by the fort-cannons. Farishta (II/231) says that it was a torch which showed up Jaimal to Akbar. Bankedan (item 1486) is silent about the medium of visibility. The Rani Manga ki Khyat of Badnor (see Appendix NN) says that Bhagwandas Kachhawaha pointed out Jaimal to Akbar and revealed his identity to the emperor. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/173) says that Akbar shot random at the breach as often as there was light of the cannon-fire. "It so happened" that Jaimal, who was standing near the breach, was by chance hurt by one bullet.

(300) Akbar Nama II/472; Tab. II/346; Bankedan, item 1486. Farishta (II/231) says that Akbar took a match-lock from one of his attendants and fired at Jaimal.

(301) Akbar Nama II/472; Bankedan, item 1486.

(302) Akbar Nama II/472; Tab. II/346; Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b Bankedan, item 1486; Farishta II/231. Al Badaoni (II/107) refers to one bullet injuring Jaimal but does not affirm that it was Akbar's shot.

(303) Akbar Nama II/472; Chigta Badshahi, leaf 3(a). The Rani Manga ki Khyat of Badnor (Appendix NN) clearly says that Akbar had an 'illusion' about the death of his victim and as such praised his own markmanship.

(304) Akbar Nama II/472. However, Amar Kavya (leaf 37(b)) refers to Bhagwandas in the place of Khan Jahan.

(305) Akbar Nama II/472.

(306) ibid.,II/472; Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(307) Akbar Nama II/472.

(308) Al Badaoni II/107.

(309) Tab. II/346.

(310) Farishta II/231.

(311) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(312) Tuzuk-i Jahangiri (Lowe Tr.),I/36.

(313) Akbar Nama II/472.

(314) Quoted by Thakur Gopalsinghji Rathor in Jaimalvansha--prakasha I/134 n,). The page of Khulasa-i Tawarikh is given as 369.

(315) Chigta Badshahi, leaf 3(b). See Appendix OO.

(316) Bankedan, item 1488.

(317) Rani Manga ki Khyat of Badnor. See Appendix NN.

(318) Amar Kavya, leaf 37(b).

(319) ibid., leaf 39(b).

(320) Rani Manga ki Khyat of Badnor (Appendix NN).

(321) Dr. Gopinath. op. cit.,p.76.

(322) Al Badaoni II/107; Tab. II/346; Farishta II/231; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/173.

(323) Jaimalvanshaprakasha I/138; Chaturkulcharitra I/66-7.

(324) Oza: Udai. Iti., I/415; Vir Vinod II/79 n.1; Jaimalvanshaprakasha I/138.

(325) cf. Amar Kavya, leaf 36(a); Akbar Nama II/464; Farishta II/229; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/170.

(326) cf. Amar Kavya, leaf 38(a).

(327) Bankedan, item 1472.

(328) Kukadeswara tank lied to the left of Rampol between the Pol and the Palace of Ratansi (Shobhalal Shastri: Chittor and the Mewar Family, p.84).

(329) Akbar Nama II/472; Amar Kavya, leaf 38(a).

(330) Akbar Nama II/472. Akbar Nama identifies ~~calls~~ this person as

Isardas Chauhan. He was infact a Rathor (Bankedan, item 1473) and s/o Rao Viramdeo of Merta (from the geneology of Badnor estate). Vanshavali 828 (leaf 66(a)), Vanshavali 872 (p.140) and Vanshavali 878 (leaf 72(b)) also support this view that this Isardas was was a Rathor. One Isardas Chauhan also participated in this Saka (Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b)). See also Oza: Raj. Iti., II/727-78.

(331) Tab. II/346; Al Badaoni II/107; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elli-ot V/173. The views of Farishta (II/231) that all the ladies and children were immolated on a common pyre, along with Jaimal, ~~and~~ of Amar Kavya (leaf 37(b)) that the family of Jaimal was burnt along with the furniture of his palace, and of Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/173) that Jauhar was performed after the cremation of Jaimal - ~~all these views~~ cannot be accepted

(332) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174.

(333) Tab. II/346.

(334) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot B/174.

(335) Tab. II/346; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174; Amar Kavya leaf 38(b); Al Badaoni II/107. The view of Akbar Nama (II/472) and Farishta ("31) that after the shot ~~on~~ at Jaimal the breaches were deserted by the garrison, cannot be accepted.

(336) Tab. II/346-47.

(337) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b).

(338) Tab. II/346.

(339) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174.

(340) Akbar Nama II/472.

(341) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b).

(342) ibid.,leaf 36(b). Rana Raso (verse 174) says that the whole of 'Jambudwipa' was ranged against the Rana in this contest.

(343) ibid.,leaf 38(b).

(344) Akbar Nama II/472.

(345) Bankedan, item 1833.

(346) Akbar Nama II/473.

(347) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b). The view of Tab. (II/347) and Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/174) that Akbar entered the fort just after its fall is incorrect.

(348) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174.

(349) ibid, Elliot V/174; Tab. II/347.

(350) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b).

(351) Akbar Nama II/473-74.

(352) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b).

(353) ibid, leaf 39(a).

(354) Akbar Nama II/474.

(355) Akbar Nama II/473. Akbar Nama wrongly calls him Isardas Chauhan. He was Isardas Rathor. He caught the tusks of the elephant and said, "Be good to convey my respects to the world adorning appreciator of merit" (Akbar Nama II/473). Bankedan (item 1473) akso praises the valour of Isardas Rathor for engaging the elephants in this battle.

(356) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(a). See also Akbar Nama II/475.

(357) Amar Kavya, leaf 38(b).

(358) Akbar Nama II/474-75

(359) ibid.,II/476.

(360) ibid.,II/475.

(361) ibid.,II/476.

(362) ibid., II/476.

(363) Rani Manga ki Khyat of Badnor, Appendix NN.

(364) Vanshavali 828, leaf 66(a); Vanshavali 872,p.140; Vanshavali 878, leaf 72(b).

(365) Oza: Udai. Iti.,II/881-82.

(366) Vanshavali 828, leaf 66(a); Vanshavali 872,p.140; Vanshavali 878, leaf 72(b). Oza (Raj. Iti. II/728) and Vir Vinod II/81) say that Dodiya Sanda fell fighting on the bank river ~~Gemghiri~~- Gambhiri.

(367) ~~ibid.~~, Oza, Raj. Iti.,II/1182.

(368) ibid.,II/1207.

(369) ibid.,II/1185.

(370) ibid.,II/1188.

(371) From the account/~~of~~ in Badnor thikana records. The name of ~~Shardul~~ Parmar Maldeo is referred to by Jada Mahadu in"Shardul Parmar ka Yuddha", verse9.

(372) Bankedan, item 379.

(373) ibid., item 562.

(374) ibid., item 603.

(375) ibid., item 1484; Amar Kavya, leaf 39(b).

(376) From the thikana records in Badnor.

(377) Bernier's Travels (Archibald Constable Tr.),pp.277-78.

(378) Amar Kavya, leaf 39(b); Bankedan, item 1484.

(379) De Laet: The Empire of the Great Mogol, p.145. See also Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174.

(380) cf. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174.

(381) Akbar Nama II/475.

(382) ibid.,II/475; Tab. II/347. De's note (Tab. II/347 n.1) says that such an order could "emnate from Taimur or Nadir Shah" and "is ....opposed to the ideas ofdinarily

held of Akbar's disposition and religious tolerance". So he concludes, "It appears to me that there is no evidence for any order for general massacre". This is wrong. In the words of Abul Fazl, "....their (civilians') excuses after the emergence of victory were of no avail, and orders were given for a general massacre". This is supported by Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/174) which says ," The order was given for a general massacre". This fact is supported by Tab. (II/3470 as well, which says, "An order for a general slaughter having been issued..."

(383) Akbar Nama II/475.

(384) ibid.,II/475.

(385) Bankedan, item 1484.

(386) Akbar Nama II/476; Tab. II/346; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174; Al Badaoni II/107. This belies the statement of Ain-(I/519) that the fort of Chittor "surrendered" to the Mughals.

(387) Akbar Nama II/475; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174.

(388) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/174. The sum involved appears to be too miserable to catch the attention of any other contemporary authority.

(389) Akbar Nama II/475-76.

(390) ibid.,II/476; Tab. II/348. Tarikh-i Alafi (Elliot V/175) says that he stayed in the fort of Chittor, which is not corroborated by any other contemporary historian. The Rani Manga ki Khyat of Badnor on the other hand says that before the final engagement Jaimal had sent a word to Akbar requesting him not to herald his imperial presence in the fort of Chittor just after its fall ~~which~~ and Akbar had accepted it (See Appendix NN).

(391) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, leaf 20(b).

(392) Sir Thomas Roe"s account of Chittor while passing through Chittor (Col.G.H.Trevor: Rhymes of Rajputana, Appendix, pp.216-17.)

(393) Al Badaoni II/107.

(394) Akbar Nama II/476; Tab. II/348; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Al Badaoni II/107.

(395) Dalpat Vijay: Khuman Raso, leaf 134(a),verse 3402.

(396) Akbar Nama II/476.

(397) Al Badaoni II/108.

(398) Tab. II/348.

(399) Akbar Nama II/476-77.

(400) Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, a general of Aurangzeb, was blockaded in Kevada ki Nal by Rana Raj Singh and it caused so much anxiety to the emperor that after the return of the said-general no other expedition was sent in that region.

(401) Benkedan, item 1484. 30,000 were killed in the last engagement alone (Amar Kavya, leaf 39(b)).

(402) The Sisodias continued to rule over the areas north of Ajmer even in the days of Rana Pratap (s/o Udai Singh) as one copper-plate dated Sept. 2,1588 A.D. suggests. The gifted land, granted by Pratap, is still enjoyed by the descendants of the donee. For the text of the copper-plate see Appendix PP.

(403) cf. Jagannath Temple/(Udaipur) Inscription, verses 39-40: Pub. Vir Vinod II/384-99).

(404) See Appendix QQ.

(405) William Wilfried Webb, op. cit.,pp.7-8 and pl.II,fig.15

(406) Bankedan, item 2354.

(407) Amar Kavya, leaf 39(b).

(408) Nensi I/111; Bernier's Travels, p.256.

(409) Amar Kavya, leaf 39(b).

(410) Jagdish Singh Guhalot: Rajputana ka Itihas I/232. The temple where the images of Jaimal and Patta were found is situated in Bhatgon (Nepal). The name of the temple is Nyayapol.

वक्नात हुक्म मोजे बुहारन परगने किशनगर की रा ब्राह्मण पट्टा पुण्यार्थ डोहली गुजरान्यां तीरी तफसील

(१) पट्टो । महाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिसिंहजी सं. १६१३ मह सुदी पूरो जो मोजे बुहारन रै ब्राह्म नुं पुण्यार्थ धरती जिका राणा अुदैसिंह जी रापट्टा मुवाफिक जिका कानुं कदीन लडता आया छे सो दीनी कानु धरती खडे छे जिणसे कोअी अुजर करण न पावै

(मूलपत्र ''महाराजा श्रीहरिसंहजी का जीवन चरित्र '' पत्र ६१)

Appendix HH

संवत १६२६ मगसर सुदी ७ अुदैसिंगजी अुदेसागर बंदायो ने फते पाया । देवडा गैल हुआ । बारै खेडा अुदेसागर मे बुडा ।। १४।।

पं. नाथूलालजी व्यास, अुदयपूर के संग्रह से प्राप्त.

Appendix II

Serial No.	Name of the place.	Ref.No.of Chief Commissioner office Udaipur.	D a t e
1	Bhemali	1129	Chaitra Shukla 15, 1616
2	Malikheda	666	Phalgun Shukla 2, 1617
3	Madaria	914	Chaitra Shukla 9, 1621
4	Dodakheda	372	Vaishaka Krishna 30,1621
5	Mandar	1032	-"-
6	Udekheda	1583	-"-
7	Savina kheda	455	Vaishaka Shukla 2 1621
8	Sagarav	1574	-"-
9	Daginakheda	1629	-"-
10	Vilasa	1710	Bhadrapada Shukla 6,1621
11	Berada	1736	Bhadrapada Shukla 8,1621
12	Mevasa	510	Maha Shukla 6,1621
13	Bhojara	1504	Vaishak Krishna 30 ,1622
14	Tolasa	1536	-"-
15	Karaju	1590	-"-
16	Badoda	392	Vaishak Shukla 7 , 1622
17	Bhatali	1420	Phalgun Krishna 14, 1622
18	Tadeda	1151	Maha Krishna 30, 1627

Appendix JJ : Udai Singh (II)

''संवत १६२१ वर्षे माघ मासे कृष्ण पक्षे चतुर्थी तिथौ

सोमवारे श्री कोठारिया नगर मध्ये राष्ट्रकुट

श्रीजयमल्लजी राज्ये श्रीमच्छीलरत्न

... भावसुंदर गणिना लिखि स्वावार्थ ....

अन्त्यांश '' श्रीधर्मरत्नप्रबंध कथा ''

(प्रकाशित: अमृतलाल मगनलाल शाह

-- '' श्रीप्रशस्ति संग्रह'' २।११९)

परिशिष्ट ~~(सी)~~ KK

:राणा रासो:

उदे सिघं सांगा सुतनु, अकबर भर उर सालु।
लोचन जम्बू दीप को, कियो उदे रु तालु।।५७।।
जिप इय मंत्रु विचारि, आई परधान आन सब।
जहां रानु उदितु अमानु, भर गये तहां तब।।
ग्रीषम रवि सम तेज, तापु को सहे सनमुख।।
डगमगात डग भरत, भय दछिन कि वाम रुख।।
उत मंग नाइ व सु अंगन ई रु मंग्यो जुग जोरि कर।
गढु छांडि गादु फिरि किजई, जुध बिरुध करुध।।२१३।।
कुध उध खगु हथ, कहे खुमानु रानु खिझि।
हों नृपु उदयसिंघु, नाऊं सुनि रहे रुद्र रिझि।।
पल पल चल आधवाइ, छाइ दल मलो अकबर।
मंत दंत उखारि, डारि देहुं धार उपर।।
करि सं मुंड भर, झुंड झुकि, कुंड तुं वायुंड रुचि।
भारथ कथ पारथ सम रहो, प्रांत रतरंग खुचि।।२१४।।
सचिव कहे सुनु स्वामिभ्रयो सत जुग हरना कुनु
त्रेता रावन राघु, दाउ देवनि उपर गुनु
द्वापर दंत ककत्रु भयु, ससि पालु जरासंधु।
काल जुमुनु केसीरु कंस, अध चक दमित बधु।।
तिन सबनि त्रिदसदुखय, बहुत लोक छंडि रहे ओक धार
देवधि देव अवतार तब, छल बल छेदे छेद छर।।२१५।।
सिया बिरहु रघुबीर, धीर सहि बरख बीताइय।
सांम दान करिभेद, दंड कुल सहितरि ताइय।।
जरासंध डर कृष्ण, बाप कीनो जलधि ग्रहु।
मिछु भेख खग पंथु, भीड मंज्यो उपाइ बहु।।
मगि चले काल जवनाहि, लखि अखिल लोक नायकु निय।
अमरउठाइ मचकुंद कुं पंच हंतु पर पंच किय।।२१६।।
ओन सरित सांचनु भयो, कोनु चरित गति जानु।।

परिशिष्ट ~~(डी)~~ KK

फारि फोज जवनेस की, आयो उदया रानु।।२२७।।
अकबर करु भींडत चले, मुखु दिली दिसी कीनु।
उदे सिधु अन्तर बसे, नगर बसाइ नवीन।।२२८।।

× परिशिष्ट (डी)

वढियो मूर वेश पतो वाढालो, वढियो सुरजन देख वढ
गढ चितोड गरव तिण गरजे, गाडो गो रणथम्भगढ।।१।।
जोय रण थम्भ चित्रगढ जम्थे, दल आया सिर बोल दिसी
सुरजन कलह छांड सांवरियो, कलह पते मो सेस कियो।।२।।
उरजन तणो लसे उतरियो, सुत जगमल रहियो सधार
बेहरो हुओ बिंहु गढ विग्रह, हाडा अवर हमीर हर।।३।।
सू परिवार छांडगो सुरजन, चढे पतो रहियो वर वीर
गिर दुरंग चढियो नाग द्रहां, नाडुला उतरियो नीर।।४।।

(स्व. मोती लाल जी ओत्रिय के संग्रह से)

परिशिष्ट ~~(ओ)~~ LL

(कवित राव जयमल वीरमदेवोत रा रतनु ईसर रा रचियता)

चित्रकूट ऊपरे मिले पतसाह तणा दल
कासमीर कामरू गोड बंगाल अचागल
खे खंबाज खंधार धार आरब धोलागिर
हज हरेव हुर मज्ज संजे एरा की तणाशिर
उतरा पंथ पूरब छिडे खडे खंड खुरसाणरा
मीरसो चडे मुवाड दिसि खडे पयाणे पधारा।।१।।
दल चकता तुरकमां भीज उजबक भंयकर
झंझ भेराड महाजम इतछ मच्छर
कजल वास का साल ढलीह मुंगल्ला
कुरलकी अठनालि भेरि जुजार तब्बल्लां
अनेक जाति भाति असंख माख लाख साखां मिले
मेवाड दिसा अकबर तणा सेन असाह संस मिले।।२।।
कन्हा राण खुमाण साहि सड बीडो साहे
धडे धरे गहबरे सार मुअ डंडि सबाहे
अभंग भाल ईसरे छोट असि छांटा छोडे
चडे खडे निच्चडे भडे वाकुडे सजोडे
वैरा घराट वीरभरा खेध जोध मोभगी खरा
आवीया रोद्र सुणि अवता चित्रकूट कूट दूदा हरा।।३।।
पातसाह छेलीयो पूर चतुरंग प्रगटे
चित्रकूट चड चोट थहअवियह निहटे
धरा धूज धाम धामे द्रमे पयाल द्रमक्के
गोभ बोम धूंधाले सेस गिरमेर सलक्के
कायरां नरा उर कंदरे भार कंध कुरम भमे
भगले कीयो मिलि भार कें गिरद पेच चोही गमे।।४।।

परिशिष्ट ~~(ओ)~~ LL

भूर भाडण भाटके ताम जेमल प्रमाणे
हूं दोसारी दूठ दले देसे दीवाणे
मैं धीरे मीरजो देस अहिपुर दो दहे
मैं पटहथ पाडीया धार फोजा छो सट्टे
आज सही कमंध मों ऊजला सार पाण सूरे सजे
मो भुजे लाज मेवाड री चित्रकूट म्हारे भुजे।।५।।
जंतु मांगी जेमाल खरा द्रव लाख खजिणा
ताज कुलह जर कमलश लास तेजी लाखीणा
अहेपुर मेडतो वले वधणोर विगतो
सों साभारि चटसू सगह सिंधूरा सेहेतो
ऊबरा वाह आलम वहे ताहन मेटो वाचतो
मम झाली अडप मित माडिमा मानि सांच गढ हमो।।६।।
ज्यों कान्नहडि जालोर दीघ जगि साको रखे
न दखे
दूदे जैसलमेर दीघ को हिण [illegible]
जगो [illegible] हमीर रणथंभ जुडे जीतो जगि जाणे
सोम मंडोवरी जेम कीयो साचील समीयाणे
तिम करिस पातसाहतो साग सार खरो खरो।।
नहू मनो सील न दीयो दुरस [illegible]देमाल वीर भरो ।।७।।
सोदालम सीजीयो धारे करमूक करारा
असंग खान ऊमरा हुए आदस हलकारा
कहक बाण वेवाण धार आराण धंम चक
द्रोह छोड दमदमां ताल आफाड मंडे तक
साबांति सुरंगा सीघडा जो वे रिख नारद जिसो
हिंदुआ अने तुरकां हुवे आवरत मातो यसो।।८।।
ईसरे नेअ अमाल पते सलहे प्रोचाले
करम चंद रूपसी ढाल ढाहण ठेवाले
भात्री जे भाईये सूर धीरेस सनाहे
रजपूते राउते हक हथे रिम राहे

हाकले आप वांसि हुओं गुडे रोड़ हाए गेरे
मारके मुरज माला हरे जडण जोध मे जेमाल रे।।९।।
गोडि राडि गडडंति नालि निसाण न कंवर
हलो हल जल बोल कहर दुतर मेरा हर
उर फहे कायरां मीर घण तीर विछुटे
सूर धीर वीवरे पाण के वाण प्रगटे
ऊछले सोम आतस अधिक धार सार लाटंत धड
आवटे नीर पातसाह दल वड मंडल जेमाल वड।।१०।।
रचि सुरंग रूमीये दले मुगले दुझाले
सोर जोर सीघडे अनड अलाफि उथाले
धोमर खेहा खुण दीन महामंद संभाले
जुध करे मीच जेमाल रा खांडि तणे मुहि खल खटो
हिन्दुवां अने तरकां हुवे वहे लोह लाखा वटो।।११।।
जोध धन जेमाल ढाल अणपाल उपाले
ईस खला ऊचडें दला आजमल दुमाले
हुवे हुक हथ नालि नीर नलीयार तयारा
भडा घडा बेहडा मार आवे गज मारां
मेडता दला अर मुगला देखे सिव नारद ढवे
हथवाह क्रोह मातो हमस हाक एक झीको हुवे।।१२।।
हुअे लोह लेदेह हुवे हलकार अयारा
धका धोम धमचक धमस मातो मुह धारा
पटा सेल पेलीये गूंथ बथा गल बाहां
हुए धडा बेहडा सूर धीरांस सनाहा
ऊचंई हेक नाखे अलग खेध जोध हाथे खरा
जेमाल भीम जाणे जुडे पडे भीछ पतसाह रा।।१३।।
आम लठग वग्ग कीये कर खग्ग करारे
दिये धार पाहार सार सेलार संघारे
भरे बथ समथ करे खलखट निहटो
एक झट खत्रवट हुवे थटा आवटो

परिशिष्ट ~~(अो)~~ LL

उछले जीव जलतो छते तडवड मड माछ तिम
जमोल करे चीतोड सिरि रामायण हणमंत जिम।।१४।।
घाट बराड अनाड सारि अरिडि पछाडे
करड दंत बलवंत अंत जीते अखाडे
लोचने आरत दंत नीय भंत झीखते
हसे धसे उडसे सार पाहार वणंते
रिम राह धीरवीरम रो हुणे घणा मड हाथ ले
जेमाल मरे अकह करे खला लाख सीके खले।।१५।।
झो ईस हाराथ हाथ सस माथ सछोहे
लीये दीये लाहणा लोद्र धाड त्रुटे लोहे
कुंभकृन अहिंवन माणमत हि दुसासण
मडा धडा बेहडे जोणि भीमेण अरिजण
ऊमरा मरे आल मरा सार घणा नर संघरे
कालो दुगाम हलमंत करे जाणि वलिभद्र कसरे।।१६।।
प्राहा दुग चीत्रोडि मिडे मारथ भूअ डडे
धार मीर धोसटे खान ऊमरा चिहडे
जेमल ईसरे अजे सूरनर धीर ~~[illegible]~~ सकजे
ऊजले अंत सत आवरे लोध खेध पतसाह हलो
वीर रे कीयो वीराय यण सुरासाण दीवाण सो ।।१७।।
पडे खेति पाइक सहस दोई च्यारि फरी धार
आतस बाज अनेक अयत आवटा असमर
पातसाही ऊमरा गान पाखे मीरवंर
पडे खेत पाहदलसरि अध लाख बहादर
चीत्रोड चाड चोरंग चडे लोह छोह लंबे लडे
जेमाल ईस अजमल जुडे पाडि मीर एता पडे।।१८।।
हो देवा दाणवा नाग मंडल नागिद्रा
राउता राउला राय राणा राजिद्रा
सूर चंद्र साखीया तवो कवी नारद तारा

परिशिष्ट~~(ओ)~~LL

पीर पे कबरां जख सेवां जड धारा
सुरसाण धणी सो रण खले सुणो कनि मानो सहो
हणि थट कीध दूहा हरां ,कि मही एक कीधो कहो।।१९।।

:संपूर्ण:

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ,उदयपुर।
वक्ता: आशिया श्री सावल दान जी चारण कवि।

× परिशिष्ट(पी)

: दवावेत:

(सरस्वती भंडार ,उदयपुर ,मूल पत्र नं.४७८)

उडणे पृथीराज। ताखो परबत घेरने। लला पठाणनु मार लीधो।
उण दवहु। कलमारेने। सीसोदारे बेर बीधो । सागे राणे सात बार।
सुरताणनि जडेरा में जडिया। जड गादी उदेसीघ बडो ही सरदार।
दलरो उधार। दातार जुझार। सरणाई साधार। भाखरां नु
भाजिन। ऊदीयानगर बसायो नर लोक माहे। दुजो केलासहि।
दरसायो। जणारे परतापसीघ ने सकतसीघ। आपाकुपहरा राजपूत।
....पृष्ट(४)

Appendix MM :

''पातसाह दूत पठाये । अुजो पता जैमल पै आये ।

हजरत का हुक्म अुठावो । पीछा गढ अनायत पावो ।

कला मे अमल दसतूर करणे दो । दोय पहर आण फिरणे दो ''

.. (पत्र ५(अ)

'' ज्ञिति श्री बंस बेडदावली राज श्री ५ श्री ठाकुरा श्री

प्रतापसिंघजी की ।। ... कलंदान जी बणायो बास

गांव गोठरे तथा नाथ वासछ ।। श्रीरस्तु ।।

कील्याणमस्तु ।। संवत १९१७ मीती श्रावण बद १३

वार मंगलबासुरे । लख्तु बेघ सीताराम नग्र बदनोर

मध्ये बाशगांव गागेड ।।

..पत्र+ २१(अ)

...

परिशिष्ट ~~(के)~~ NN

।।श्री राम जी।।

म्हराज: जमलज(जयमल) पाट बटज(विराज्या) संमत १५९९ में:

अट चतड(चितोड कम अ (आया) संमत १६२४ म चेत सुद ३ क दन

राव जयमल जी कलारी समाल राव जयमल जी पधारया वां वक्त में फोज की सम्हाल कर बादसाह करता,सो नजर कला साम्ही पडी तो नखे जयपुर राजा हा,जाने पातसाह बूज्यो के ये कला पर कोन है,जदे राजाजी जयपुर वाला अज्र कीधी,के ये कला पर मुख्तार जयमल जी के वे है,उदे पात साह आप की सग्राम नामां बन्दूक हाजर थी सो चला चता हुआ,तो वे गोली जयमल जी के पग में आय लागी ,सो पग जख्म हो गयो,और पातसाह के मन में या साबुत आई के म्हारी गोली लग गई,अर बन्दूक से तारीफ कीधी,राव जयमल जी पाछा डेरे पधारिया,और रावत पताजी सूं कही म्हा सं तो या बाणी है ,अब तो दरवाजा खोल काम आणो जोज है,वां विचार केसर धुलाई,सरदारां गे हुक्म कीदो ,के जांरामन ठेरे जसा तो केसरिया करो,अमल पीवो,नही ठेरे जो पारांव जावो,पछे रावत पताजी वा राव जयमल जी विचारेण पातसान ह्वाई के मै दरवाजा खोल काम आवां। आपरी पण बात राखां,परन्तु एक बचन दीदो चावे,कला ऊपरे आण दुहाईन फेर पाछा पधारजाओ जीरो धर्म ईमान रो बचन दीजे,जदे पातसाह कवायो के हूं कला पे चढूं और पेर एक ठहरेगे,जा दो नही ठहरेगे,ऐ मेरा ईमान है,असी बात बांद पछे झग जो धमयो जदे जयमल जी रा मन मे संभा आई,पग जख्म हो वासूं ,जदी भाई कल्ला जी राठोड रंडेलिया भाबी रा बोल सूं गढ चितोढ आया था,सो उणा अर्ज सरीआप मन में संका क्यं करे,म्हारा मोरां ऊपरे बिराजे,सो म्हूं आपने तरवार बावस्यां,जदे जयमलजी कही के भाई या बात थांसू बण आवे,जदे जयमल जी कल्ला जी केमोरो ऊपरे बिराजे, दरवाजा खोलिया,अर झगडो हुवो अण हो बाला गो,सो दोई हाथा में तरवार बहती है वां वक्त बारली फोजो का लोगो ने असी मालम दीदी के हिन्दू लोगो से चतुर भुज देवता बाजे है,ओ तरवार बावे है,ई तरे सु बो पडयो,राव जयमलजी पांडल पोल बिचे और राम पोल बिचे खेत पडिया,और कल्ला जी को माथाो पडियो बाद कदम तेरा तथा पंदरा पछे धड पडियो,और कई सरदार काम आया,पछे पातसाह सो तमाम श्री दरबार को लोग और दोई सरदारों की रिकार तमाम काम आगिया,

परिशिष्ट ~~(ये)~~ NN

पछे पातसाह जयमल जी के आपरा हाथां की गोली लगाई थी सो निशाणी चावाहा, परन्तु पचाणे पडी नही, लोह लागबासूं धावां सूंछिन भिन हो गया।

प्राप्ति स्थान:

राव राणी मंगा (मडा अम्बा लाल जी)
गांव लाछूडा
पोस्ट दौलतगढ जिला भीलवाडा
मेवाड राजस्थान

वाया ब्यावर

(ठाकुर साहिब श्री कन्हे या सिंह जी भाटी, काली सिन्धा, की कृपा से प्राप्त।

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× परिशिष्ट (एल)

(राव श्री जयमल मेडतिया वि रचित साके के समय के दोहे)

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जयमल भज जगदीश को झूठा तजदे फोड
अंत समय मिलसी अवस ठीक राख मन ठोड।।१।।
लाज रखे तो जीव रख लजवन जीवन रख
साईं तो सुं वीनती दोनुं मेला रख।।२।।
बिना लाज जीवण बुरो अकबर सुं जुद आज
राखी जुं अब राखजे लप्प जगमल की लाज।।३।।

प्राप्त: ठाकुर साहेब श्री गोपाल सिहं जी मेडतिया
राठोर, बदनोर के संग्रह से)

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Appendix OO :

.... प्रथम अुकील मुनलक सात हजार मै राणा अुदैसिंघ कौ घेरि मोरच देखन सधारेह । परच मालूम किया जे मोरचे के अन्दर सूं येक गोलासा चलावता है जो कैअू मोरचे वाले मर गये । जखमी हो दागि रहे तब पातस्याहनै अपने हाथ वंदूक ले भरवाय ओर चलाअी । सो गोली हलकाअी सफाअी मालूम हाअी । तदि आपुन फरमाअी जो भाअी सिकार मैं हमारे हाथ तैं गोली लगती है ताहि हाथ हमारा हलका मालूम होता है सो जानी परती जो गोली अिस वरकंदाज कै भी लागी सो दूत भेज खबर मंगाअी ओर फेरि मुखते फरमाअी हमारी गोली दुसमन कौं लागी । निदान खबरि आअी जो जैमल कौ भतिजा वहि गोली तै मरया । ..... ''

Appendix PP :

चिगता बादशाही पत्र १(ब)

। श्री रामोजयात

श्री गणेसप्रसादात श्रीअेकलिंगप्रसादात

भाला

सही

माहराजाधराज माहाराणा श्री प्रतापसिंघ आदिसंतुं आयस आणंदनाथ कस्य हल ४ दुरी धारती गांव बांधण सींदरी माहे पली छे समध कीधी स १६४५ ब्रणो आसोज बद ७ दुबै श्रीमुख प्रति दबै साह मामो ।

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Appendix 99 :

अकबर की चित्तौड विजय का मुगल दरबार के हिन्दु कवियो व्दारा

व र्ण न

''चले साह गढ चितौड लीनी पलक झक मे मार मैदान की नी
किये साह आरंभ रणथम्भ तोड्यो कहू कोअी मेवास छत्रपति न छोड्यो ''

अुपरोक्त दिल्ली राज वंशावली का अन्त्यांश:

तौरे गगंण अस रत चंद सरस सवच्छर जाणो (१६७०) ।
आदीत वार कहे कल्ह कातीक वदि प्रतिपहा
सघर ध्रुव जोग जाणि धुज पंजाब को मुगट
नगर लाहोर कोठ थिर नूप जाहंगिर साह अकबर सुतन
साह हमाजुं वंसवर जहांगीर महम्मद को सुजस
आणंद कर ।।१९।।

इति वंसावली संपूर्ण.
पं. दानचंद लिखितं श्रीनवलखीग्रामे । सं. १७३९ व
कार्तिक वदि १ दिने । शुभं भवतु: ।। श्री।। ''

दिल्ली राजवंशावली श्री अगरचंदजी नाहटा, बीकानेर के संग्रहसे प्राप्त

अुपरोक्त पदका निम्नलिखित पाठभेद भी मिलता है :

''वली साह गढ व गढ चितोड लीनी सु पलक झिक मे मारी कीनी ।।९०।।
कीयेा साहि आरंभ रणथंभ तोडयेा कहु कोअी मायासु छत्रप्रत न छोरेा
.. .. ''

दिल्ली राजवंशावली ''श्रीअगरचंदजी नाहटा के संग्रह से प्राप्त.

Appendix 99 :

अकबर की चित्तौड विजय का मुगल दरबार के हिन्दु कवियो व्दारा

व र्ण न

''चले साह गढ चितौड लीनी पलक झक मे मार मैदान की नी
किये साह आरंभ रणथम्भ तोड्यो कहू कोअी मेवास छत्रपति न छोड्यो ''

अुपरोक्त दिल्ली राज वंशावली का अन्त्यांश:

तौरे गगंण अस रत चंद सरस सवच्छर जाणो (१६७०) ।
आदीत वार कहे कल्ह कातीक वदि प्रतिपहा
सघर ध्रुव जोग जाणि धुज पंजाब को मुगट
नगर लाहोर कोठ थिर नूप जाहंगिर साह अकबर सुतन
साह हमाजुं वंसवर जहांगीर महम्मद को सुजस
आणंद कर ।।१९।।

इति वंसावली संपूर्ण.
पं. दानचंद लिखितं श्रीनवलखीग्रामे । सं. १७३९ व
कार्तिक वदि १ दिने । शुभं भवतु: ।। श्री।। ''

दिल्ली राजवंशावली श्री अगरचंदजी नाहटा, बीकानेर के संग्रहसे प्राप्त

अुपरोक्त पदका निम्नलिखित पाठभेद भी मिलता है :

''वली साह गढ व गढ चितोड लीनी सु पलक झिक मे मारी कीनी ।।९०।।
कीयेा साहि आरंभ रणथंभ तोडयेा कहु कोअी मायासु छत्रप्रत न छोरेा
.. .. ''

दिल्ली राजवंशावली ''श्रीअगरचंदजी नाहटा के संग्रह से प्राप्त.

CHAPETER XII

Last days of Udai Singh

Akbar's Preparation against Ranthambhor:-

Akbar reached Ajmer on Sunday, March 6, 1568 A.D. and prayed at the mosque of Khwaha Nizamuddin Chistri.(1) After a stay of 10 days on March 16, 1568 A.D.(2) he left for Agra(3) via Mewat(4), Alwar(5) and Narnul and reached Agra(6) on April 13, 1568 A.D.(7) He stayed at Agra for some months.(8) During this period he decided to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor because the occupation of such a strong by the Rana had made peace in the empire(9) impossible. Orders were issued for the mobilization of those soldiers who had not served in Mewar.(9) Asharaf Khan,(10) Sadiq Khan Mir Munshi,(11) Samanji Khan(12) and Khwaja Gayasuddin Bakshi(13) were sent with a huge army as an advance party for this task.(14) Hardly had they moved out that the news of the return of Ibrahim Mirza and Mohammad Hussain Mirza, the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, to Malwa(15) was received by Akbar from these generals.(16) So this army was diverted from Ranthambhor and sent to chase out the Mirzas from Malwa(17) in conjunction with the forces of Qulij Khan, which were also originally mustered to attack Ranthambhor.(18) The Mirzas precipitately crossed R. Narbada(18) and fled to Gujarat. After the flight of the Mirzas, Qulij Khan Sadiq Muhammad Khan and

other amirs returned to Agra and the fief-holders of Malwa repaired to their estates (19).

AKBAR'S MARCH AGAINST RANTHAMBHOR :-

During this period Akbar had called Mir Muhammad Khan Kalan, Qutubuddin Muhammad Khan, Kamal Khan Kakhar(Ghakkar) (20) and the whole Atgah clan from the Panjab (21). They arrived at the court in August 1568 A.D. (22). Hussain Quali Khan was also called from Nagor (23) and asked to remain with the emperor till the reduction of the fort of Ranthambhor (24). His brother Ismail was also asked to stay in Agra (25). On December 21,1568 A.D. (26) Akbar moved from Agra to Delhi (27) to pray at the tomb of Humayun for victory at Ranthambhor (28). After staying for some time at Delhi, he moved out for Ranthambhor (29) via Mewar and Lalsot (30). The Mughals reached at the foot of the fort (31) on Feb.8,1569 A.D. (32).

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF RANTHAMBHOR:-

At Ranthambhor two equally high peaks of Aravali, Ran and Thambhor, overlooking each other, stand side by side; one of them lodges the fort of Ranthambhor on it. The fort, defended by a girdle of mountains, is strong and lofty, incapable of being reduced by catapults. To the natural defences of the fort, Surjan had added a strong defensive masonary. In May 1561 A.D. Akbar had passed near the fort of Ranthambhor on his way to Malwa to reduce Adham Khan. Then Rao Surjan had also fulfilled the obligations of hospitality due to the emperor, possibly, at the instance, and on behalf of Udai Singh, by suitable presents and personal participation in the function of welcome (33). It was near

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Ranthambhor that Akbar and Biharimal had met for the feast arranged to celebrate the occasion of the inclusion of Biharimal's daughter in the imperial harem.(34) Thus Ranthambhor lay on the direct imperial route and was too close to Agra to be left in the hands of the Rana of proved anti-Mughal inclinations.

PRELIMINARY OVERTURES OF AKBAR THROUGH BHAGWANDAS :-

Before the beginning of the siege Akbar sent Bhagwandas as envoy to Rao Surjan to arrange a peaceful surrender of the fort but the Rao refused to admit the Raja into the fort. So Bhagwandas delivered his message to the Rao through a messanger to surrender the fort to Akbar whom,according to the message,no power in India, could oppose. Surjan's asylum to Afgan soldiers was also cited by the Raja as condusive to quarrel and hence an advice to disband them.(35) Surjan refused both these requests and prepared for the defence of the fort.(36) The reason for this defiant attitude of Surjan lay in the feeling of security offered by the natural strength of the fort of Ranthambhor,(37) wherein he had already collected ample provisions.(38)

SIEGE OF RANTHAMBHOR:-

Immediately after reaching the fort Akbar himself inspected the surroundings of the fort from a hill-lock.(39) Orders for fixing batteries around the fort were issued after reconnitring the place with skilled engineers.(40) On March 10,1569 A.D. the siege of the fort began.(41) Traffic to and from the fort was stopped.(42) Batteries were carried forward.(43) The construction of 'sabats' was undertaken .(44) Heavy cannonade on the fort commenced.(45) The

eminence of the peak of Ran (46) was found more suitable for cannonading the fort and orders were issued to carry heavy artillery pieces to that point. (47) Soon the Mughal engineers employed themselves to achieve this miracle which so far no sovereign intending to conquer Ranthambhor had attempted. (47) During this period the fourteenth anniversary of the accession of Akbar arrived on March 14,1569 A.D. and the occasion was celebrated with befitting festivities for 3 days. (48) Muhammad Qusim Khan (49) and Raja Todarmal, (50) ordered to construct 'sabats' (51), showed great activity. Skilled carpenters, stone-cutters and smiths working under expert supervision, succeeded in raising a 'sabat' near the valley of Ran (52) and carried their construction close to the fort (53) at level with the ramparts (54) in 20 days (55). Meanwhile, according to the instructions of Akbar, 15 culverins (56), each of which could be dragged with great difficulty by 200 pairs of the oxen over level ground (57), were mounted into positions by the labour of porters (58) 7-800 (59) in number, (60) on the precipitous height of Ran (61) an unprecedented achievement on the part of Akbar (62). Each of these ordinance pieces could discharge boulders weighing 5 and 7 'mans'. (63) They could also dart heavy round-shape compounds of seven metals (64) From their positions opposite the fort (65) commanding the rampart (66) the first shot from these cannons struck the house of Surjan, which made Surjan very apprehensive. (67) The first day cannonade destroyed several houses (68). A great consternation spread amongst the garrison. (69) Along with some rall building, the walls of the citadel were also shattered on the first day. (70) Each volley

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broke down either some portion of the fort wall[71] or pulled down some houses.[72] Several breaches were made in the walls of the fort.[73] The damage to the buildings by every salvo of artillery,[74] the panic consequent upon this damage[75] and the knowledge of the exemplarary punishment to the garrison of Chittor[76] made Surjan anxious and desperate.[77] The incapacity of the garrison to oppose the assailants was now obvious.[78] However, the gunners continued to rain fire upon the besiegers.[79] So Akbar let himself to be persuaded by Raja Bhagwandas, who, by reminding the emperor of the difficulties and losses at Chittor, managed to get himself commissioned for fresh negotiations with Surjan,[80] who was also by now chastened by the activity of the artillery from the eminence of Ran.[81] Bhagwandas was authorised to regotiate the surrender of the fort for districts in of Bennres, Mathura and on the banks of Narbada.[82] Surjan was also reminded of the dreadful consequences if he failed to respond properly.[82] The threat of a general assault on the following day of Id[83] in case the Rao failed in making submission[84] and the desperation of Surjan, who now despaired of the defence of the fort,[85] made him sue for peace on the following conditions:-

1). He should be permitted to give three cheers in the name of the Rana of Mewar even while attending the imperial court.

2). He would never take up arms against the Rana of Mewar;[86].

3). No lady from his family should be demanded in marriage for the imperial family;[87]

4). Ladies from his family would not attend the Nauraz festival;

5). The Rao would bear arms in both Dabari Khas and Darbari Am.

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(6) The drums of the Hada ruler would keep beating upto the walls of the red fort;

(7). The Hadas would never cross River Attack in the north;

(8). The horses of the Rao should not be branded by the imperialist (88)

(9). He would not fight under anybody else's command; and lastly,

(10). In exchange for the fort of Ranthambhor he should get 26 (89)
fief-lands near Hedauti and 26 near Benares.

VISIT OF THE HADA PRINCES TO AKBAR AND SURRENDER OF SURJAN:-

Akbar accepted these terms. (90) So the Rao sent his two sons-Duda and Bhoj- with some officers (91) to the court (92) and asked for his personal safety. (93) Akbar received them well (94), honoured them with robes of honour, to wear which they were carried to an adjoining apartment. One of the attendants from the fort, somewhat of unsound mind, who was standing outside the camp, believed that the princes were arrested and carried into custody; so he pulled his sword for rescuing them. Bipakdas Sakrwal, a servant of Bhagwandas, tried to explain the whole situation but invain and got attacked by that attendant. After finishing the servant of Bhagwandas, this mad ran towards the imperial tent. Kaha Shaikhawat's son Puranamal, along with two others, was injured in this malee. Saikh Bahauddin Badayuni was cut in two by this insane and was ultimately killed by a servant of Muzaffar Khan. The princes regretted the event when they learnt about it. (95) Akbar was ashtonished and the princes were ashamed of this occurence. (96) As these princes were innocent, Akbar's good will did not suffer. (97) They were returned to Surjan (98) with an

imperial assurance for the Rao's forgiveness, provided he waited upon the emperor. Joyously the princes returned to the fort. Now Surjan, to save his face, solicited Akbar for some befitting imperial escort to lead him to the impetial presence. Akbar sent Hussain Quli Khan, who then held the title of Khan Jahan, to assure, comfort and bring Surjan to the court. As Hussain Quli Khan approached near the fort, Surjan came forward to meet him and carried him to his residence where the Khan was hospitably treated. Surjan was presented before the emperor to pay his homage, along with suitable presents and the keys of the fort made of gold and silver . Akbar treated him with great consideration. Surjan requested the emperor through the couttiers for 3 days time for the evancuation of his own and his followers families and property from the fort, thereafter it was to be made over to the imperial officers. The request was granted on the stipulation that the sons of the Rao should be left as hostages with Akbar. After 3 days Surjan came out of the fort with his family and baggage on March 21,1569 A.D. However, Savant Singh Chauhan refused to surrender the fort inspite of several temptations by Bhagwandas and Akbar and died fighting the enemy with his small band of followers. Surjan was parmitted by the Mughals to leave the place unmolested. The fort fell in the hands of the Mughals with all its ammunition, granaries and stores. Akbar conferred it upon Mihtar Khan. Next day Akbar entered into the fort and personally inspected its defences. Then the army was ordered to return to Agra under Khwaja Amin

(who had the title of Khwaja Jahan) and Muzaffar Khan;[125] and the emperor himself proceeded to Ajmer for thanks giving to the Khwaja for this victory.[126] Akbar conquered Ranthambhor in 1 month while Allauddin took 1 year for it.[127] From Ajmer Akbar made for Amber[128] and reached Agra on May 11,1569. A.D.[129] The chronogram of this victory was found in the word ' Victory ' or 'They took the fort quickly,[130] both yielding 976 (A.H) ,the year of the conquest. After reaching Agra, Akbar built two images of Jaimal and Patta, representing them on elephants and one of Surjan, showing him with the face of a dog[131] the fittest symbol of the mentality of selling the master's trust for a loaf of bread. In this way after governing the fief and fort of Ranthambhor on be half of Udai Singh for about 9 years,Surjan surrendered it to Akbar .[132] Surjan's eldest son Duda went to Rana Udai Singh straight from Ranthambhor and got some daily allowance for his maintenance.[133]

There is no unanimity amongst the Muslim chroniclers about the date of the surrender of the fort of Ranthambhor to Akbar by Surjan.[134] Al Badaoni and Nizamuddin Ahmad[135] hold that the fort was surrendered for the occupation of the imperial officers on the 3rd day of Shawwal 976 A.H. i.e. March 21,1569 A.D. while Akbar nama[136] and Maulana Ahmad[137] hold that Surjan presented himself before Akbar on March 21,1569 A.D. and the fort was surrendered 3 days later i.e., on March.24,1569 A.D. The views of Al Badaoni and Nizamuddin are more reliable. One day before Id, i.e., on March 18,1569 A.D. Duda and Bhog would have appeared before the emperor because Akbar had threatened an assault on the day of Id.[138]

Naturally next day the Rao would have made his homage to Akbar. If the views of Abul Fazl and Maulana Ahmad be accepted,it is difficult to explain the lapse of three days between the appearance of the princes and the appearance of the Rao. The time being very critical Akbar would not have permitted 3 days to Surjan which he could profitably use, due to cease-fire,in strengthening the defences of the battered fort. So on March 19 Surjan would have made his appearance in the imperial court and on March 21,1569 A.D. the fort surrendered to the imperialists.

DEATH OF UDAISINGH

Baz Bahadur had fled to Biharji of Bagalana at the time of Akbar's attack on Chittor (139). Hence he proceeded to Gujarat and joined Chingiz Khan (140). After the death of Chingiz Khan he joined Sher Khan Fauladi (141). Later on Baz Bahadur went to Nizamulmulk who refused him shelter in his territories (142). So he returned to Mewar and Udai Singh again offered him refuge (143). This caused great apprehensions in the mind of Akbar. So he sent Hussain Quli Khan to prasuade Baz Bahadur to surrender to the emperor. Hussain Quli came towards Mewar and succeeded in taking Baz Bahadur to the court. (144) However,the offering of refuge to Baz Bahadur and Hada Duda Surjanot brought Mughal contingents upon Udaipur (145). So Udai Singh went to Kumbhalgarh, and after mustering an army retained to Gogunda. He celebrated the Dashahara festival of 1571 A.D. at Gogunda and all of a sudden he was taken ill (145). He died on Phalgun Sukla 15,1628 V.S.(Thursday,Feby.28,1572 A.D.) at Gogunda (146).

It is said (147) that while on death-bed Udai Singh nominated Jagmal (from Bhatiyani Dhir Kumar) (148) to the throne to

the exclusion of his eldest son Pratap . Some nobles also are reported to have acquiesced in it. So Jagmal did not attend his father's funeral, a fact which excited enquiry by Raja Ram Shah from Sagarsi, who was also completely ignorant about this transaction. This created a great flutter. Akheraj Sonigara and Rawat Krishnaji went to Rawat Sanga Chundawat and demanded explanation and justice for Pratap. Sanga agreed to push the claim of Pratap and bruished aside his pledge to the deceased Rana as something merely intended to ease his death. All agreed to this arrangement and conveyed this news to Pratap who was then saddling his horse to quit Mewar. In the darbar Kishanji pushed aside Jagmal , who was moving towards the throne and asked him to take a front seat before it . Angry Jagmal left the hall and left Mewar. This account is contradicted by Amar-kavya (1 which clearly says that Pratap was nominated by his father Udai Singh as latter's successor. Possibly some palace conspiracy to supercede the claim of Pratap in favour of Jagmal might have been set afoot which ultimately failed. However, it is certain from Amar-kavya that Udai Singh did not nominate Jagmal as his successor. None of the Vanshavalis have referred to this Jagmal episode,which suggests that this effort to by-pass the right of Pratap after the death of Udai Singh was too insignificant to deserve any reference.

ESTIMATES AND ACHIEVENMENTS OF UDAI SINGH.

Udai Singh has been much abused both by Indian and foreign historians since Tod's "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" published in 1829 .A.D. He has been represented as a 'feeble ', (150 ' Cowardly ' (151) 'unwarlike' . (152) debauch , (153) wavering (154) and an unworthy (155) ruler, most unfit to step into the throne of Mewar

which claims amongst its occupants celebrities like Sanga, Kumbha, Hammir, Bappa Rawal etc., His evacuation of Chittor in face of Akbar and his war on Haji Khan on Rangarai episode are cited as conclusive evidence in support of the downright condemnation of this ruler. However,facts speak a different tale.

Successor to a war-torn,diminished,divided, and possibly,depleted Mewar, it was really a hard job to govern and orgainse this state which ,during his reign,apart from neighbour's threats and symptoms of internal rebellions,was subjected to two major invasions, viz., of Sher Shah and Akbar. In the midst of these difficulties, Udai Singh remained on the throne for 36 years. He occasionally extended his kingdom by conquests which to some extent recalled good and great days of Sanga. He was at times able to rally round him almost all the former allies of mewar who had fought under Sanga at Kanwah. His protection to the nobles of Malwa in face of Sher Shah's challenge, the asylum to Baz Bahadur after the fall of Mando,and his refusal to hand over Jaimal to Akbar even at the risk of war were no mean achievements on the part of Udai Singh. He died in harness in 1572 A.D. at Gogunda in the midst of military preparations against the Mughals. His boldness in offering hospitality to Baz Bahadur, for the second time after the III Saka of Chittor is revealing. His sparing of the life of Banavir stands out as an example of his anxiety to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.

Cool in the midst of dangers,Udai Singh had the rare quality of adjusting the state-policy to the needs of the time.

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Hence he did not mind evacuating Chittor twice(once before Sher Shah and another time before Abkar) even at the risk of being branded as a coward when he realized that it was suicidal not to do so. In the same strain, he taught the Sisodias that not death in the battlefield but the ultimate defeat of the enemy should be their aim.

Ingenuous, cool-headed and a good judge of men,Udai Singh was also a brave soldier. His refusal to retreat before Haji Khan when his honour was at stake,vindicated him and his sense of personal gallantry. But he was not always a foolhardy soldier eager to act and abide on the principle of seeking madly death in every battlefield sheerly for the fun of it. Generous to the last and sensitive to any injury to the state or dereliction of duty by any of his servants,Udai Singh did whatever was possible in those days when he had not only to order his own home but also to oppose the three-fanged attempts of the enemies of Mewar under Maldeo, Sher Shah and Akbar.

Besides his bravery,political sagacity and military abilities, he also had true national perspective in his policy. His recruitment of Bakasariya Pathans and their exemplary service against Akbar during the seige of Chittor compares fairly well with the Hindu allies of Akbar and their services to the expansion of the Mughal empire. The former had gathered around Udai Singh to remain free while the latter had were attracted to Akbar by the lust of gold and thirst of honour. The command of a Sisodia wing against Man Singh by Gazikhan Sur at Haldighati would always remain a

memorable event in the history of Mewar.

Udai Singh was also a great builder. He built one palace at Moti Magari and another palace on the eastern bank of Pichhola in Udaipur, the Jhali Rani ka Mahal at Kumbhalgarh, and the temple of Udai Shyam on the western bank of Pichhola at Udaipur. The Udai Sagar dam, which stands to this day as strong as ever inspite of centuries of negelect, would always remain a hallmark of the engineering skill of his time.

Udai Singh is also noted for his deep religious sentiments. He made a pilgrimage to Dwarka, took a dip into Gaumati and distributed doles to the Brahmins. He always granted lands on the occasions of lunar and solar eclipses. He was a little superstituous also and mostly gave buffaloes instead of cows in charity.

Inspite of all these qualities, there is one sad blot. His demand for Rangrai was a great mistake . For the time being it marred the good relations between the Afgans and the Sisodias , helped in the formation of Rathod-Afgan axis and led to the permanent loss of Ajmer to the Mughals by Mewar. However, it did for a short time avoid Mughal-Mewar clashes by diverting the edge of the Mughal sword on Marwar.

Religious and to some extent superstitious but not fanatic, brave but not desparate, proud but not arrogant, chivalrous to ladies honour but not licentious, innovator but not foolhardy, diplomatic but not treacherous, Udai Singh was generous, gallant, affectionate, dependable and never cruel. Under vow to keep his crowned head unbent he left not only a state to his son but also a tradition. And all this is enough to establish the plea of his greatness.

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FAMILY OF UDAI SINGH:-

Rana Udai Singh had 1 Sonigara, 1 Solanki, 1 Jhala, 1 Badagujar, 4 Rathod, 1 Pawar, 3 Khichi, 2 Chauhan, 1 Bhatiyani, 1 Devada, 1 Mahida, 1 Balicha, 1 Madadecha and 1 Gaud, in all 20 wives. Their names are given by Badawa Devidan (156) as under:-

1) Sonigara Jivat Kumar (157) (alias Kamala (158)) d/o Sonigara Akheraj Randhirot;
2) Solanki Suja Kumar (159) d/o Prithviraj and grand-daughter of Rao Suja;
3) Jhala Bir Kumar (160) d/o Jhala Sajja;
4) Badagujar Vir Kumar d/o Kanak Singh
5) Rathor Pyar Kumar d/o Khevaji Rathor and grand-daughter of Udai Singh Rathor of Jetaran;
6) Pawar Lal Kumar d/o Panchanan Pawar (and grand-daughter of Karamchand Pawar) (161);
7) Khichi Sayivata Bai d/o Khichi Ratan Singh;
8) Rathod Lel Kumar d/o Rao Kalyanmal of Bikaner;
9) Chauhan Savagade d/o Chauhan Ganapat Singh and grand-daughter of Raj Singh Chauhan;
10) Bhatiyani Dhir Kumar d/o Rawal Lunakumar;
11) Devada Lal Kumar d/o Ban Singh Devada;
12) Mahida Karmeta Bai d/o Rai Singh Mahida;
13) Rathod Lakhamade d/o Rathod Prithviraj;
14) Khichi Vir Kumar Bai d/o Man Singh Khichi;
15) Balicha Lachchha Kumar d/o Durjahsal Balicha;
16) Khichi Gopalde Bai d/o Bharat Singh Khichi

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17).Madadecha Jivat Kumarbai d/o Nagansinghji and grand daughter of Aman Singh Madadecha.

18).Gand Krishna Kumar d/o Amar Singh Gand.

19) Chauhan Krishna Kumar d/o Pyar Chand Chauhan; and
(163)

20) Rathod Kavaran Ban d/o Jodh Singh Rathod.

UDAI SINGH HAD FOLLOWING SONS :-

(164) (165)

1).Kika alias Pratap Singh from Jiwat Bai Sonigara(1)
(165)

2).Sagat Singh from Solanki Suja Kumar (2)
(165)

3).Viramdeji from Solanki Suja Kumar (2)
(165)

4).Ray Singh from Vir Kumar Jhala (3)
(165)

5).Sardul Singh from Vir Kumar Jhala(3)
(165)

6)Rudra Singh from Vir Kumar Jhala (3)
(165)

7).Khan Singh from Lal Kumar Pawar(6)
(165)

8).Nagaraj from Savagada Bai Chauhan (9)
(165)

9).Jagmal from Dhir Kumar Bhatiyani (10)
(165)

10) Sagarji from Dhir Kumar Bhatiyani (10)
(165)

11).Agarji from Dhir Kumar Bhatiyani (10)
(165)

12) Siyaji from Dhir Kumar Bhatiyani (10)
(165)

13).Panchayanji from Dhir Kumar Bhatiyani (10)
(165)

14).Maheshadas from Kameti Bai Mahidi (12)
(165)

15). Chandoji from Karmeti Bai Mahidi (12) (
(165)

16)Singhji from Lakhamade Rathod (13)
(165)

17).Sultanji from Lakhamade Rathod (13)
(165)

18).Lunakaram from Lakhamade Rathod(13)
(166)

19) Sahib Khan from Karmeti Bai Mahedi
(167)

20) Jet Singh from Madadecha Jaivanta Bai
(168)

21).Narayandas from (?)

( )

(168)
22).Bhav Singh from (?)

(169)
23)Net Singh from Karmeti Bai Mahedi

(170)
24) Vairisal from (?)

(170)
25) Man Singh from (?)

(171)
26) Paraśuram from (?)

(171)
27) Bhojiraj from (?)

(171)
28)Durjan Singh from (?)

(171)
29).Shyam Singh from (?)

(171)
30)~~Shyam~~ Sujan Singh from (?)

(172)
31) Jasavant from (?)

(172)
32).Ballu from (?)

(173)
33).Sundar singh from (?)

(174)
34) Indra Singh from (?)

(175)

Besides Udai Singh had 20 daughters. Their names are:-

1).Kika Bai.

2).Chand Bai.

3).Sovan Kumar.

4).Ratan Kumar.

5).Asabai.

6).Balkumar.

7).Har Kumar

8). Lel Kumar.

9).Has Bai.

10)Pemakumar.

11).Sajan Kumar.

12).Pep Kumar.

13).Raj Kumar.

14).Adra Kumar.

15).Asa Kumar.

16).Lad Kumar.

17)Sardar Kumar.

18) Khan Kumar.

19)Basan Kumar , and
(176)
20)Sovan Kumar

21) The names of their mothers are not known.

COINS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF UDAI SINGH :-

No coin of Maharana Udai Singh has been as far discovered. However two inscriptions of the reign of Udai Singh are found . One of them dated June 19,1560 A.D. (Asadh Krishna 11,1617 V.S) refers to the reconstruction of a temple in Jiran.(177) Another (178) at Toda Rai Singh is dated Oct.30,1547 A.D.

ARMY OF MEWAR UNDER UDAI Singh.

No definite information about the military strenght of Udai Singh is available. It is reported that he had 30,000 horses (179) elephants etc.

CHARITIES :-

Udai Singh distributed 7 'mans' of grain and 5 tolas of silver and fed 9 Brahmins daily (180). It is reported that his total charities amounted to 100 cows (181), 700 hotses, (182) 900 buffaloes (183), 5 villages (184) and 15 pieces of land. (185)

UDAI SINGH (III): FOOTNOTES

1) Tab. II/348; Al Badaoni II/108. Akbar Nama (II/482) gives March 10,1568 A.D. for it.
2) Tab.II/348. Akbar Nama (II/482) gives March 14,1568 A.D.
3) ibid,II/348; Al Badaoni II/108
4) Tab.II/349
5) ibid,II/350
6) ibid,II/350; Farishta II/232; Al Badaoni II/108
7) Akbar Nama II/484
8) Tab. II/350
9) ibid,II/350; Akbar Nama II/484
10) Tab.II/350; Akbar Nama II/484; Al Badaoni II/110; Ain. (Second edi.),I/489
11) Akbar Nama II/484. Tab.(II/350-1) and Al Badaoni (II/110) separate the word 'Sadiq Khan' and 'Mir Munshi' which confuses. In fact Sadiq Khan might have been 'Mir Munshi' of this expeditio
12) Akbar Nama II/484; Ain. (Second Edi.),I/489; Maasir-ul Umara (Second edi.),II/703-4.
13) Farishta II/232
14) Tab.II/350; Al Badaoni II/110
15) Tab.II/350; Farishta II/232
16) Al Badaoni II/110
17) ibid,II/110; Tab.II/350; Farishta II/232; Akbar Nama II/485; Maasir-ul Umara (Second edi.),II/208; Faizi Sirhindi: Akbar Nama, Elliot V/124-5
18) Tab.II/350-1; Al Badaoni II/110; Farishta II/232
19) Al Badaoni II/110; Akbar Nama II/486

20) Tab.II/351-2.Cf.Akbar Nama II/487.

21) Al Badaoni II/109.

22)Tab II/352; Akbar Nama II/487.

23).Tab.II/352; Akbar Nama II/487-8; Akbar Al Badaoni II/109;Ain. (Second Edi.) I/349; Maasir(Second Edi.)II/646

24).Tab II/352.cf. Akbar Nama II/488.

25).Tab II/382.

26) ibid ,II/352. Al Badaoni (II/100) simply says," in the beginning of Rajab "976 A.H. i.e.the last week of December 1578.

27).Tab II/352: Akbar Nama II/489; Al Badaoni II/110. Farishta (II/232)does not refer to this visit to Delhi by Akbar and says that in December 1568 A.D. Akbar marched from Agra to conquer Ranthambhor.

28).Akbar Nama II/489.

29).ibid II/490; Tab II/353; Al Badaoni II/110.

30).Akbar Nama II/490. Lalsot is 40 miles south of Jaipur.

31). ibid II/490. Tab II/353 and Tatikh-i Alafi, Ellist V/175.

32). Akbar Nama II/490

33). ibid II/490. Abdul Fazl wrongly calls it' homage of submission '

34).ibid II/491.

35).Vansha Bhaskar pp.2260-2

36).ibid II/ 2262; Farishta II/232-3.

37)Ain(Second Edi.)I/449. See also Tarikh-i-Alafi (Elliot V/175) and Massir.(second Edi.) II/917

38).Akbar Nama II/491- see also Tarikh-i Alafi, Ellish V/175 and Al Badanni II/26

39) Maasir-ul Umara (Second Edi.) II/917

40) ibid II/917; Akbar Nama II/491

41) Farishta II/233

42) Akbar Nama II/491; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175

43) Tab. II/354

44) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175

45) Akbar Nama II/491

46) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175. See also Al Badaoni II/111; Akbar Nama II/494. Farishta (II/233) Calls it Mudum.

47) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175

48) Tab.II/352, n.1 . This passage, according to the Translator's remark is found only in one manuscript.

49) Akbar Nama II/493; Tab. II/353 n.1 (carried on p.354)

50) Akbar Nama II/493

51) ibid, II/493; Tab.II/353 n.1 (carried on p.354)

52) Akbar Nama II/493

53) Al Badaoni II/111; Tab. II/354 (here translation of leaves from other two MSS of Tab. is given).

54) Akbar Nama II/493

55) Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS).

56) ibid, II/354 (Extract from other two MSS); Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175

57) Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Tab. II/354 (Extract from other two MSS). Akbar Nama (II/494) and Farishta (II/233) do not give the number of these pieces).

58) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Akbar Nama II/494; Tab.II/354 (Extract from other two MSS).

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59). Al Badaoni II/iii; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Tab II/354 (Extract from other two Mss of Tab).

60) Al Badaoni II/iii; Tab II/354(Extract from other two Mss of Tab) gives the number of the porters as 500

61). Al Badaoni II/iii. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Akbar Nama II/494; Tab II/354(Extract from other two Mss of Tab)

62). Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175; Farishta II/233

63) Al Badaoni II/494; Tab II/354 (Extract from other two Mss of Tab) The statements of Tarikh-i Alafi ((Elliot V/175) and Akbar Nama (II/494) that these attillery pieces could discharge stones weighing upto 50 and 60 'mans' are obvious exaggerations. See also Oza Raj Iti.II/731.

64). Akbar Nama II/494 the statement about their weight of 30 'mans' cannot be accepted. See also Tab II/354(Extract from other two Mss of Tab.).

65). Tab II/354(Extract from other two Mss of Tab)

66). Al Badaoni II/iii. Tarikh-i Alafi .Elliot V/175

67) Tarikh-i Alafi Elliot V/175

68) Al Badaoni II/iii; Tab.II/354(Extract from other two Mss of Tab). See also Akbar Name II/494.

69) Tarikh-i-Alafi: Elliot V/175

70) Tab II/354/ (Extract from two Mss of Tab)

71) Akbar Nama II.494.

72) Tarikh-i Alafi : Elliot V/175

73). Tab II/354-5

74). Farishta II.233.

75). cf. Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/175.

76). Ibid, Elliot V/175; Al Badaoni II-III

77). Tarikhi-i Alafi: Elliot V.175; Tab.II 355; Akbar Name II 494

78). Al Badaoni II/iii

79). Vansbhaskar ,p.2263.

80). Vansbhaskar, p.2263; Nensi I.III . Though Akbar Name(II,494) does not specifically mention Bhagwan Das by name in this connection, yet it refers to the intermediary role of some court nobles.

81) cf. Nenri I/iii

82). Surjancaritra, XVIII.2:22

63) Akbar Name II/494; Maasir-ul Umara(Second Edi)II/917

84) Akbar Name II.494. The story of Akbar's entry into the fort as a mace bearer of the Raja Man Singh(Tod.III/481) is simply fantastic.

85). Ain (second Edi).I/449.

86). Nensi I.III

87 Vansh Bhaskar, p.2298 See Maasir I/409

88). ibid pp.2268:9

89) Vansabhaskar, p.2298. The names of the fief-lands adjoining Hadauti were situated ~~in the following places:-~~ at

1). Hinglajgadh, (2) Sahabad, (3) Malpur, (4) Toda, (5) Tonka

6). Shergarh, (7) Rampur, (8) Kakadi, (9) Sironj, (10) Barwada,

11). Balabhet, (12) Mallarana, (13) Khatakheri, (14) Bhelsa,

15) Khandari (16) Chainpur, (17) Bari, (18) Kheri, (19) Rainagadh

20)Singoli (21) Bhainsror, (22) Katholi, (23) Sathora, (24)Gugaura

25). Khalipur, (26) Agra.

The names of some the places where fief-lands were

situated near Benares:-

1).Manda, (2) Ramgadh, (3) Mainpur, (4) Saidabad, (5) Gadh Charna (6).Chunar Gadh), (6) Jhabbalpur, (7) Awar. However, Nensi I/iii) says that Surjan got only 4 paraganas in Chunar , near Benares for Ranthambhor. Dr. Dasharath Sharma (Shaudh Patrika I/3.pp.135-141) tries to make out a case in defence of Surjan with the help of the testimony of Surjancaritra. He holds that Surjan did not get so many districts as Vansabhaskar states. It is to be borne in mind that it is difficult to rule out the trestimony of Surajmal because Kavi Chandrashekhar fails to mention some of them. Any way it is difficult to refute the charge of bribe laid by Tod (III 1481-3)

90)Vansh Bhaskar p.2269

91) Maasir (second Edi.)II/917

92) Akbar Name II/464; Al Badaoni II/iii; Tarikh-i Alfi,Elliot V/175;Tab II/355; Ain.(second Edi.) I/449. Farishta does not mention the visit of the princes to the court.

93).Tab II/355

94).Ain (second Edi.)I/449.

95).Akbar Nama II/494-5; Maasir (Second Edi.) II/917-8.See also Ain(second Edi.)I/449.

96).Akbar Nama II/495. See also Maasir (Second Edi.) II/918

97).Ain (second Edi.) II/449, Maasir. (Second Edi.) II/918

98).Ain (second Edi.)I/450.

99)Tab II/365; Tarikh Alafi ,Elliot V/175.

100).Tarikh Alafi, Elliot V/175

101) ibid, Elliot V/175-6

102) Akbar Nama II/495

103) ibid, II/495; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176; Maasir-ul Umara (Second Edi.),II/918. See also Ain.(Second edi.),I/450

104) Tab.II/355; Al Badaoni II/111; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176; Akbar Nama II/495

105) Tab. II/355. See Ain.(Second Edi.),item 24

106) Al Badaoni II/111

107) Tab.II/355

108) ibid,II/355; Al Badaoni II/111

109) Akbar Nama II/495; Maasir-ul Umara (Second edi.),II/918

110) Akbar Nama II/495; Maasir. (Second edi.),II/918; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176

111) Akbar Nama II/495

112) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176. See also Maasir.(Second Edi.), II/918

113) Akbar Nama II/495; Maasir.(Second edi.),II/918

114) Akbar Nama II/495; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176

115) Akbar Nama II/495

116) ibid, II/495; Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176; Maasir.(Second edi.) II/918

117) Akbar Nama II/495

118) Tab. II/355; Al Badaoni II/111. Nensi (I/111) gives 23/3/ 1568 A.D. for it.

119) Vansha Bhaskar pp.2269-70

120) Farishta II/233

121) Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176

122) Akbar Nama II/495

123) Tab. II/355; Ain. (Second edi.),I/459

(124) Akbar Nama II/495-6;Tab II/355

(125)Tab.II/355; Al Badaoni II/iii

(126).Tab II/355; Al Badaoni II/iii,Akbar Name II/496

(127).Akbar Nama II/495. Alauddin had captured the fort of Ranthambhor from Hammirdeo Chauhan(Nensi II/483) on Tuesday July 11,1310 A.D. (Kair Rao;Kaitta Sanga ra; Appendix 'G' verse 4).

(128) Akbar Nama II/496.

(129)ibid II/497; Tab II/355; Al Badaoni II/iii

(130) Al Badaoni II/iii

(131) Nensi I/iii. In Mewar also Surjan was greatly condemned for this unchivalrous surrender to Akbar; See Appendix RR

(132) Nensi's I/iii view that Surjan governed Ranthambhor for 14 years is incorrect.

(133).Nensi I/iii

(134).Al Badaoni II/iii

(135)Tab II/355

(136). Akbar Name II/495

(137)Tarikh-i Alafi, Elliot V/176.

(138)Akbar Nama II/494; Maasir. (Second Edi.)II/917

(139)if Akbar Nama II/518; Aim.(Second Edi.),I/474

(140) Akbar Nama II/518;Aim.(Second Edi.),I/494; Mirat-i Sikandari, p.295.See also Tab.II/262.

(141)Makhzin-i Afgani(Dorn Tr.) I/178-9; Aim.(Second Edi.) I/474

(142)Akbar Nama II/518; Aim.(Second Edi.) I/474; Makhzin-i Afgani I/179

(143) Akbar Nama II/518,Tab II/632;Aim.(second Edi.)I/474

(144) Akbar Name II/518, Aim (second Edi I/474.

(145).Vir Vinod II/86.

146) Amar Kavya, leaf 41(a); Vanshavali 878, leaves 70(b)-71(a). The year 1629 V.S. of Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat (leaf 21(a)) and Nensi (I/61) is the corruption of 1628 V.S. For the corruption of the Mewari numerical '8' into '9' see Tiwari: "Some Undetermined Dates of Mewar", Chart II (Pub. Journal of University of Poona, 1955).

147) Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaves 101-103 (a); Nensi I/61-2.

148) She was the daughter of Rao Lunkaran (Badawa Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaf 3(a)

149) Amar Kavya, leaf 41(a)

150) Elphistone: The History of India (IV Edi.),p.439

151) Kennedy: A History of the Great Mughals, p.248

152) Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, I/372

153) Guhlot: Rajasthan ka Itihas, I/228

154) Vir Vinod II/86

155) Smith: Akbar the Great Mughal, p.85

156) Badawa Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat, leaves 2(b)-3(a)

157) She is also called Jaivanta Bai: Vanshavali 878, leaf 70(a)

158) Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramajit aour Udai Singh ka, Appendix T, Verse 33

159) Also called Sudhabai: Vanshavali 878, leaf 70(b)

160) Also called Jivi Bai Jhala: Vanshavali 878, leaf 71(a)

161) Nensi I/61

162) She is also called Jaivanta Bai: Vanshavali 878, leaf 71(a)

163) Vanshavali 878, leaf 71(a) refers to one Jhala Ganeshde as the wife of Udai Singh about whom Badawa Devidan is silent. The daughter of Kumpa is also similarly absent in Devidan's list.

(164) cf. Tab II/375.

165) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat ,leaves 2(b)-3(a)

166) Vanshawali 878, leaf 71(a). She is also called Kankavati (ibid leaf 7(a))

167) ibid ,leaf 70(b).

168) Badava Devidan:-Mewar ki.Raniyaun ki Khyat ,Leaf 3(a)

169)Vanshavali 878,leaf 71(a)

170) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki Raniyaun ki Khyat,leaf 3(a)

171)Nensi I/61

172) Nensi I/64

173) Rajavali (without pagination)

174) Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki khyat,leaf 21(a)

175)Badava Devidan, Mewar Ki-Raniyaun ki khyat ,leaf 3(a)

176)She was married to Ray Singh of Bikaner,ibid,leaf 3(a)

177) Oza: Pratapgadh Rajya ka Itihas,p.39

178) See Appendix DD

179) Vanshavli 872 p.141

180) Vanshavali 828,leaf 65(b);

181) Vanshavali 872 p.139,Vanshavali 878,leaves 70(a)-(b) Suryavansha ,leaf 52(a).

181) Vanshavali 878,leaf 70(a),Suryavansha,leaf 52(a). The figure of 15 cows in Vanshavali 872 (p.139) is patently unreliable.

182).Vanshavali 828 leaf 65(b); Vanshavali 878,leaf 70(a) Surya Vansha,leaf 52(a). The figure of 7,000/- in Vanshavali 872 (p.139) is again unreliable.

183)Vanshavali 828,leaf 65(b); Vanshavali,872,p.139.Surya Vansha, leaf 52(a) . Vanshavali 878(leaf 70(a) give 700 buffaloes.

184) Vanshavali 878,leaf 70(a). The figure of 1 village as given in Vanshavali 828 (leaf 65 (b) and Suryavansha (leaf 52(a) cannot be accepted because of the copper plates which testify to the donation of more than one village by Udai Singh.

185). Vanshavali 828,leaf 65(b) ,Vanshavali 872,p.139 Vanshavali 878,leaf 70 (a); Suryavansha leaf 52(a)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX RR

वढियो मुर पैश पतो वाढालो वजियो सुरजन देस वढ
गढ चितौड गरव तिण गरजै,गाडो गो रणथंभगढ ।। १।।
जोय रणथंभ चित्रगढ,जम्भै,दल आया सिर बोल दिसी
सुरजन कलह छांड सांचरियो,सुकलह पतै मो सेस कियो ।। २।।
उरजन तणो लसै उतरियो,सुत जगमल रहियो सधर
बेहरो हुओ चिहुं गढ विग्रह,हाडा अवर हमीर हर ।। ३।।
सु परिवार छांडगो सुरजन,चढै पतो रहियो वर वीर
नीर दुरंग चढियो नागद्रहा ,नाडुला उतरियो नीर ।। ४।।

'स्व० मोतीलालजी श्री-त्रिय के संग्रह से '

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN MEWAR IN XVI CEN. A.D.

The material available for describing the political and social institutions in Mewar during the 16th cen. A.D. is scanty, patchy and sometimes of later origin. Many of the palaces, temples and other buildings of this time are long back destroyed either by the hammer of the Muslims or eaten away by the teeth of time, and even their relics are many times denied to us. The bulk of the literature and other documentary evidence of these days should be presmued to have perished in the Sakkas of Chittor or lost during the anti-Mughal wars when the Ranas changed their headquarters often. Added to these is the fact that the information supplied to us by the available sources is largely personal. And these oasis of information are too far separated from one another to be helpful in a systematic exposition of the conditions of those days. It is only by permissible generalizations from the particular instances- permissble due to paucity of information, that one can make an attempt at drawing a picture of the social and political conditions of these days. It is but natural that the picture, which evolves by the shifting of this material and its gerenralizations, is not distinct. However, with all its haziness & sketchiness, it is not so devoid of contours as to escape

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recognition.

(I) POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

(a) Nature of Government:-

The Rana was traditionally called the Diwan of Ekling Mahadeo on account of the belief that Bappa founded this State by the boon of this deity. So theoretically the ultimate sovereignty of this state vests in him. However,this does not impose any limitations on the authority of the Ranas in administering the State.

(b). Rule of Succession:-

Nominally merely the Diwan of Ekling Mahadeo,the Rana was the chief of the State,head of the Government and the supreme commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Mewar. Inspite of all these powers,there was no sacredness attached to his person. During the period under revied, all the ligitimate rulers, except Udai Singh, fell at the hands of the regicides. Sanga was killed by poison, Ratansi died in a scuffle and Vikrajit perished by a dagger. The right of the eldest surviving son to succeed to the throne of the deceased father was winked at by the nobles in superceding Jaisa Raimalot in favour of Sanga. Babar's promise of help to Vikramjit in the acquisition of the throne of Chittor points to the intrigues to supercede Ratansi with the help of the Muslims. In the same way the efforts of Uda Hatyara to get the aid of Mandu Sultan against Raimal (1) suggests that the elder brothers were also free to do the same if ousted by their younger brothers. Very probably

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Ratansi might have also done the same if Vikramjit had succeeded in his plan. The help obtained by Karam Chand Pawar and others from bastard Banavir for the assassination of Vikramjit through the promise of the throne of Mewar when Udai Singh was near at hand in Chittor indicates that it was not necessary for a ruler to be blue-blooded. The tenacity with which the garrison of Chittor fought with the partisans of Udai Singh proves that the army could fight as hard for a bastard as for any other ligitimate ruler . The help rendered to Udai Singh by the nobles and allies of Mewar against Banavir was not at all due to their political obligation to Udai Singh (cf. the refusal of the rulers of Devalia and Dungarpur to offer asylum to Udai Singh due to the fear of Banavir). It was partly due to the consideration for the son of the late Rana Sanga (cf. the advice of the mother of Asaji to Deopura her son) and partly due to the fear of losing their caste which Banavir's practice of distributing ' Dona' (a bowl of leaves) from his platter had aroused. The quiet acceptance of the rule of Ratansi by the nobles clearly demonstrates the fact that a parricide could also rule comfortably without any opposition from the nobles. The extreme step taken by the nobles against Uda Hatyara was to retire to their estates which enabled him to rule for 4 years. So the reasons for their help to Raimal against Uda Hatyara are to be sought elsewhere than in the sin of parricide. And then also the Battle of Dadimpur proves that Uda was not without followers even at the time of the close of his reign(cf. the death of Kshemakarna Sisodia in this battle from Uda's side).

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The bestowal of the jagir of Ranthambhor on the sons of Karmeti by Sanga and the division of the kingdom of Bagad by Rawal Udai Singh among his ~~xxx~~ two sons- Prithviraj and Jagmal- may be cited as the instances of the tendency of dividing the state between the princes by the aging chiefs in the days of Sanga. However,the efforts of Rana Ratansi and Rawal Prithviraj ,who succeeded due to the rule of primogeniture,show that such divisions between the princes by the rulers had no value. The matter was ultimately decided either by diplomacy or by sword or by both. The failure ~~of~~ successe depended upon the guts of the contending parties. Vikramjit frustrated the plans of Ratnasi by his shrewd negotiations with Babar while Jagmal recovered his portion by inviking the help of Ratansi and Bahadur Shah. It is interesting to guess whether Vikramjit would have submitted cheerfully if Ratansi had left after him any successor from his loins. It would have most probably led to the division of Mewar. It is worth nothing that the division of Mewar into two parts-one under Udai Singh at Kumbhalner and another under Banavir at Chittor-indicates the absence of any idea of the political unity of Mewar and once again the union was achieved under Udai Singh by sword alone.

All this clearly proved that at that time there was no ~~recognization~~ law of succession. Even a bastard could ascend the throne with the help of the nobles to the exclusion of the full-blooded claimants,if they were not of age(cf. Banavir's succession by excluding Udai Singh) The voluntary decision of the nobles of Banswara to put Man Singh,the natural son of Rawal

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Pratap Singh from a concubine of barbar caste,Padmani by name, is a sufficient testimony in support of this view. It is arguable as to how many nobles of Mewar,who had remained neutral or hostile to Udai Singh during the Civil War,would have turned their backs on him if Banavir had returned with a powerful force supplied by any outsider, even Muslim,power. Even the nomination by the dying Rana did not always completely smooth the matter. It took Sanga at least 12 days to overcome the opposition of the followers of his elder brother Jaisa when he was not only nominated by his dying father but also had the support of the most of the nobles. Similarly,though nominated during the lifetime of their fathers Pratap Singh of Mewar and Chandrasen of Marwar had to face the opposition of Jagmal and Ram Singh respectively. However,the very fact of these nominations points to the emergence of a new trend aiming at the regulation of the succession according to the will of the ruling monarchs. In doing so sometimes they showed scant respect for the law of primogeniture. This practice happily failed to strike roots and saved a lot of botheration and bloodshed.

(c). Coronation:-

The exact details of the ceremony of coronation have not come down to us. We simply know that water from 108 places and leaves of 108 trees were collected at the time of the coronation of Udai Singh at Kumbhalner. (3) We do not know anything about their exact use. As related by the people of Udaipur from their personal experience at the deaths of Rana Sajjan Singh and Fateh Singh ,the doors of the palace are immediately closed on the death of a Rana. On learning about it all the offices are

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sealed and their keys are surrendered to his successor. Then the nobles of state put the successor on the throne,who then commands for the disposal of the ramains of the late Rana. As the instance of Ravat Bagh Singh suggests the first act of the new Rana was to grant some land for the peace of the soul of his father. On his orders the gates of the palace,which were closed on the death of his predecessor,are opened. And the corpse of the deceased is let out by the main gate which is never closed except only onee on the death of a ruler. Heralds simultaneously announce the accession of the new ruler. There is no reason to believe that it was not so in the past. As is known to us from Jagmal episode,the new Rana did not participate in the last rites of the late Rana ,even if he were his father. As immediately after cremating Udai Singh the nobles placed Pratap on the throne in an open ' Darbar ' it is fair to presume that immediately after the funaral of the deceased the nobles assembled in a darbar, crowned the new ruler formally and paid their respects to him as their chief. In this ceremony the descendants of two Bhil followers of Bappa Raval participate. The Udri Bhil holds scorched rice in his hands while the Bhil from Oghna Panwara incises his thumb , puts a blood mark on the forehead of the New Rana,takes the prince by his arm to the throne and seats him on it.(4) The joint pair of swords is then presented to him. Now the keys of the different offices are returned to their respective heads. From now the king reigns formally. The golden tuft in turban (Kalgi),the royal umbrella,the royal pig-tail (chanwar) and the joint pair of swords constitute the emblems of royalty of Mewar. Nothing is known today about the coat of arms

and the flag of Mewar in those days. However,the present day coat of arms and the saffron flag with sun in its centre,which were current even in the days before Tod, might have been then in use as well.

In an open darbar held immediately after the funeral of the late Rana all the assembled nobles offered ' Nazarana ' to the new Rana. The distant commandants sent their presents at some later date. It cannot be said that the presence of all the nobles of the state was necessary in this first darbar or that this ceremony could take place in Chittor alone. Rana Udai Singh was first crowned in Kumbhalner and his son Pratap ascended the throne in Gogunda. All the nobles present on this occasion were invited by the new Rana to participate in a hunting programme immediately after his succession. Like the attack of Raj Singh on some territory of Mewar held by the Mughals, (5) the new Rana attacked some enemy land in the neighbourhood to broadca his accession to the world. This was called ' Tikador' ceremnony. The throne would not ordinarily have been left vacant during the interregnum. However,there is nothing on record to enable us to know as to what happened during the interval between the death of Raimal and the accession of Sanga. This difficulty cannot be solved by saying that Jaisa occupied the throne during these days. In the absence of any proof to the contrary one may conclude that sometimes the throne did remain vacant. It is interesting to note that there was nothing in the contemporary jurisprudence of Mewar against the possibility of the throne remaining vanant sometimes.

It is recorded in Vanshavali[882] that the throne of Mewar remained unoccupied between the death of Kumbha and the accession of Railmal; so the name of Uda Hatyara is not mentioned in the list of the rulers of Mewar.(6). The same is true about Banavir in some Khyats.

(d). Rana's Prerogatives:-

The king was the sole distributor of titles and honours in the state. He never signed any document with his own hand. He simply commanded. His words were called ' Shri Mukhi '. The copper plates of this period refer to some persons in whose presence the royal orders for the grants were passed. In one of the copper plates of Pratap, Bhama Shah, whom we know as the accountant of the state, is mentioned, The grants made by Udai Singh from Kumbhalner (before the conquest of Chittor) do not always refer to Asuji Deopura. Similarly, Karamchand, who is referred to in Shatrunjaya Tirtha Inscription as the prime minister of Rana Ratansi is not referred to in any grant of Ratansi. So it follows that any noble or officer of the state (not necessarily minister or prime minister) a witness to the act of grant, was referred to in the copper-plate. The person referred to there cannot in virtue of it be called prime minister. Dr. Gopinath is wrong in attributing premiership to people solely on the strength of their mention in the copper-plates.(7 In fact the copper-plates were issued in the name of the Rana and bore reference to persons in whose presence the orders for grants were made. All the nobles and subjects of Mewar saluted the Rana with folded hands and bent back with the words('Khama Annaadata' (correct Annadata', i.e. Foregive us, oh, giver of food) The Rana did not salute any person in return. He acknowledged their salutations in serveral

ways as the persons deserved.

(e) The Rana as Administrator:-

The Rana held darbars in which the nobles of the state present in the capital assembled. Unlike the Mughal practice of keeping the nobles standing with their hands across their chests, the nobles of Mewar did sit in the royal presence. No account of the daily routine of the Rana or the regular business of the darbar has come down to us . However,we know that in these darbars the political business was transacted,such as the appointment of Surjana Hada to the command of Ranthambhor and to the guardianship of his nephews Vikramjit and Udai Singh,the assurance of the nobles to terror striken Banavir to get Asuji Deopura in Chittor when the news of the coronation of Udai Singh in Kumbhalner reached Chittor, and the appointment of Surjan Hada to the command of the forces against Malla Bhil after expression of anxiety by Rana Udai Singh on the failure of the previous expeditions. The receipt of Rathor Ranmal's offer of the marriage of his sister Hansabai with Chunda and its ultimate acceptance by Rana Lakha show the social aspect of the activities in the darbar. The political refugees from other states might have also been given audience in such darbars. Amar Kavya (8) has preserved for us a short account of the proceedings of such a darbar. It says that when Udai Singh learnt about attack on Mewar by Akbar he called a meeting of his nobles and discussed with them the plan of the evacuation of Chittor which was to be defended by a small army. About the same darbar Rana Raso (9) says that the nobles argued in favour of the plan of evacuation but opposed the plan of the personal command of the garrison by the Rana and persuaded him to leave for mountains. It was the insult offered to Karamchand Pawar in such a darbar by Vikramjit that

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brought death to that ill-fated ruler. On festivals, like Dashahra, the nobles repaired to the capital with their quotas of soldiers, paid ' nazarana' to the Rana in an open darbar and had in return some gifts from their soversign.(10) Celebrations similar to those of Dashahara were held to celebrate victories over the enemies in war . In such darbars the soldiers were rewarded, gifts were distributed and the captive kings were formally presented to the king. Such darbar might be like Diwan-i-Am of the Mughals. The darbars in which some decisions about policy or appointments of commandants to the forts, etc., were to be taken might be of Diwan-i Khas type.

(f). Regency Arrangements:-

Serveral types of arrangements were made for carrying on the administration during the period of infancy or disability or voluntary seclusion of the Ranas. When Raimal was ailing he entrusted the administration to his eldest surviving son Jaisa, whose incapacity compelled the nobles to invite Sanga for the job. A copper-plate of this period refers to Raimal as Maharana and Sanga as Maharajkumar and further adds that by the ' adesha' of Maharajkumar Sangram some land was granted.(11) The word ' Adesha' is used in the copper-plates of Mewar only for the Maharanas. Its use for a prince even when he granted land to some one is never witnessed in any other instance (cf. Rattansi's grant during the reign of Sanga (12)). As such ,this is the only copper-plate using the word ' Adesha' for a prince during the life time of his father. In the days following the Battle of Kanwah, Rattansi looked after the administration as the crown-prince when Sanga was observing the formalities of mourning over his defeat.

After the coronation of Udai Singh at Kumbhalner, Asuji Deopura carried on the business of the state as a self-appointed guardian of the young Rana Udai Singh. All these persons carried on the administration in the name of the Rana, though its burden rested upon their shoulders alone. And persons not belonging to the royal family through blood could also take over the charge and run the government. However, a different thing happened during the Second Sake of Chittor. After the evacuation of Vikramjit from Chittor, Karmeti and other nobles raised Rawat Baghsingh Sisodia Surajmalot of Devalia, a representative of a minor branch of the royal family of Mewar, to the position of the Deputy of the Rana, gave him the appellation of "the Rana of Chittor", and invested him with all the paraphernalia of royalty. In this capacity Bagh Singh gifted lands to Brahmins soon after his investiture and led the army of Chittor into the last battle, himself decorated with all the symbols of this new offices. His descendants in Pratapgarh still enjoy the title of ' Devalia Diwan ' in virtue of this ' Diwanship ' of Rawat Bagh.

So it is quite clear that in those days a big difference existed between the offices of the Regent and that of the Rana's Deputy . The former governed but did not rule and all the copper-plates issued by the regent bore the name of the soveriegn. However, the Rana's Deputy ruled and governed both. The regency first went to the eldest surviving prince(of. Jaisa, Ratansi) and, in case of his incapacity , to the next prince in order of seniority(of. Sanga), and in absence of any prince to any noble of Mewar(of. Asuji Deppura at Kumbhalner). The fact that the none of these regencies the

House of Salumber played any part proves that the descendants of Chuda had no claim to this office. Had they any, they might have exercised it. The office of the Deputy of the Rana fell upon a representative of the junior branch of the royal house of Mewar. It suggests that possibly it was not open to all. Tradition also says that at the time of the First Saka of Chittor 12 princes ofroyal blood received investiture to die next day at the head of th army as king. If it be correct, the right of acting as the deputy of the Rana was exercised by the members of his family and its junior branches only. However, the House of Salumber could not accept this office because of Chundas's vow renouncing the emblems of the royalty of Mewar on behalf of himself and his successors.

(g). Princes-Royal:-

The princes-royal received jagirs for their maintenance. And this many times caused bad blood. The assignment of jagir of Bhansorgarh on Sarangdeo by Raimal and of Ranthambhor on the sons of Karmeti by Sanga had fatal results. Prithviraj openly protested to his father and later on made good his protest by killing Sarangde at Batarhade. Even the consent of Ratansi in the bestowal of the jagir of Ranthambhor on his half-brothers did not silence him. His steps to wrest it from them carried Mewar almost to the brink of a civil war. Though without any actual political power the crown-prince was held in great fear in virtue of his being the prospective ruler of the state. Orders of the Rana , known to be distasteful to the crown-prince, were needed to be buttressed by the consent of the princes to avoid future trouble(cf. Surjamal Hada's insistence at the consent of Ratansi for giving the fief of Ranthambhor to Vikramjit and Udai Singh) . On displeasure or fear from their father

or brothers, the princes sometimes negotiated with the enemy from their jagirs(of Vikramjit's negotiations with Babar) . Sometimes they left Mewar either to seek service somewhere (cf. Sanga's refuge in Shrinagar), even in a Muslim State (cf. Shakti Singh in Akbar's court and Uda Hatyara in Mandu or ~~left~~ to found new states. (cf. Surajmal going to Kanthal to setablished a new state for himself) . If they were compelled to quit Mewar by the fear or pressure of their adversary they sometimes distributed their lands to charans, Brahmins, Jogis, bhats, etc,(cf. Surajmal's distribution of land in Sadari before going to Kanthal). These donees neither paid any rent to the state not could they be ousted from their lands. The sending of Vikramjit to Bahadur ~~Shah~~ Shah by Sanga in 1526 A.D. and by Ratansi to the relief of Raisin at the head of 40,000 cavalry suggests that important political and military assignments were made in favour of royal princes for training them.

(h). High Officials of the State:-

Though the chiefs of Salumber claim in theory the right of being the Rana's second ,one does not know as to when they actually exercised this right. The Shatrunjaya Tittha Inscription refers to one Karam ~~Chand~~ Singh as Mukhya Rajyavyapar Mantri, i.e., the cheif minister, of Rana Ratansi.(13) It further helps us in inferring that there were Rajyavyapar Mantries, (i.e. ministers) whose Mukhya (Chief) Karam Singh was. The details of the activities of Bhama Shah are enough to establish the post of a treasurer-cum-accountant. There was an official called ' Sahivala' whose duty was to engrave the word ' Sahi ' on all official documents including copper-plates. In Nadeshma Inscription this officer is called ' Shrikaran'.(14) He was secretary both for home and foreign correspondence. He supervised o

the issue of copper.plates and other token of grants. He was also in charge of the correspondence to which the Rana was a party. Sarvaneswara Temple (Udaipur) Inscription (15) of Allat refers to Amatya, Sandhivigrahaka, Akshapatalika, Bandipati and Bhrishagadhiraj Sandhivigrahaka was like a modern foregin minister, Akshapatalik, Inspector General of Records, (16) Bandipati, the poet laureate, and Bhrishagadhiraj, the cheif physician. These officers,in absence of any proof to the contrary, should be presumed to be in existence during the period under review also. There would have been also a director of royal mint, a state engineer to supervise over the construction and repair of forts,tanks,palaces and temples, and an. officer in charge of the department of defence whom might have looked after the forts,arms and ammunition, etc., There was a royal engraver who incised the orders of the ruler upon stones or copper-plates. The practices like the bestowing of ' Siropav ' (Robes of Honour) (17) and the distribution of daily charities show that there was a department of civil supplies and a state store house. The large number of state elephants and horses would have required people holding posts of stable-in-charge for both of them separately. Though we do not know anything about the remaining dignitaries and their subordinates,it is fair to believe that all the civil officers then necessary for the administration of the state were present.

(II) PUBLIC FINANCE (RECEIPT)

(a) Direct Tax:

(A). Classification and Mensuration of Land.

The revenue from land retained by the Rana, i.e. the crown demesne,was the chief source of state income in those days.

Two copper-plates of Sanga dated April 4,1521 A.D. to Hardas [18] and Oct.22, 1515 A.D. to Lakhami Ram and Ramdas [19], one of Vikramjit dated Oct.25,1532 A.D. to Harikantha [20], one of Pratap dated Sept.2, 1588 A.D. to Ayasa Anandnath [21] specify the donated lands in terms of ' Hal'-length. Otherwise the usual unit of measuration in the copper-plates is ' Bigha.' 50 Bighas made one Hal. The reference to ' Rahat ' in the copper-plates of Udai Singh dated Jan.24,1544 A.D. and to Dave Duga etc.[22] and May 4, 1547 A.D.[23] suggest that Rahat was also a unit in mensuration. Its exact length is not known. Nor do we know if it was current before Udai Singh or he intrdduced it. Vikramjit's grant to Harikantha classifies land into ' Rahati ' and ' Barasalu'. A copper-plate of Udai Singh dated March 23,1559 A.D. to Joshi Jaikaran refers to ' Rakhal ' and Pival' types of lands.[24] The word ' Rakahal' and 'Barasali ' appear to be synonymous. They seem to refer to that type of land which is cultivated without the aid of any type of artificial irrigation. ' Rahati' and ' Pival ' also appear to be synonymous, meaning the land irrigated by a well. The copper-plate of Udai Singh dated Jan.24,1544. A.D. refers to 'Siyali ' type of land. It means that land which yields crop in winter only. So its opposite ' Unalu ' would have been also been classified though no copper-plate is discovered to testify to it.

(B) Land Tax.

The exact sum charged from the cultivators for these different kinds of lands in not known. The agriculturist then depended chiefly upon rain-waters for cultivation. Wells were also used sometimes(cf. Rahati lands). Whereever there were tanks like Pichhola or Udai Sagar, the agriculturists might have used their water for irrigation. However,it is fair to presume that as the

tanks were built partly due to religious motives and partly due to military considerations, no special charges might have been levied for the use of their waters. A tax called ' Puli ' was collected in kind from the farmers at the time of harvest.[25] Puli means a bundle of grass . So the state seem to have collected fodder from the farmers.

(b). Indirect Taxes

A reference is found to ' Danu ' and 'Vishavaki' as taxes in the Mandsaur Inscription of Sanga.[26] Dana is mentioned also in the Rampol Inscription of Bahavir[27] and Abu Inscription of Kumbha.[28] Possibly Dana and Vishavaki were import and export duties.[29] Nowhere in the available evidence the tax called, ' Mapa' (Sale tax) is referred to. However,it should be presumed to be present,otherwise the alternative of no tax on goods on their being sold in the market appears improbable. 'Nal-ki-Kodi' (i.e., tax for safe passage in a pass) and 'Fauj Vard' (i.e., army tax) referred to in the Patta of Delwara[30] should also be presumed to be current in earlier days also. The tax called ' Valavi ' (safe passage on roads) referred to in Abu Inscription of Kumbha might have also been current[31]

There are serveral taxes reported to have been collected in later days. ' Ghanim-Varad' (War Tax) , ' Ghar ghinti Varad' (House Tax), 'Hal Varad ' (Plough Tax) , and ' Neota Varad' (Marraiage Tax) were current in these days of Tod.[32] ' Bhalmanusi ' , 'Anni' (an agriculture tax), and ' Bekha Varad' (Registration fee) are announced abolished in a pillar-inscription of 1787 A.D. by Umed Singh for the inhabitants of the city of Jhalerapatan.[33] Lakshmi Narayan Temple (Akola, Mewar) Inscription (1588. A.D.) abolished the monopoly of the sale of tobacco which ,as the inscript says, was current in former times.[34] ' Bakhavali' ,'Bhum' and 'Lagat'

are mentioned in the agreement between Rana Bhim Singh and the nobles of Mewar.(35) The duties on the sale of spirits, Tobacco, and even a share in the garden-stuff(36) are reported in the days of Tod. ' Lata' (a tax collected in kind at the time of harvest) is referred to in Sarvanrewara Temple Inscription, Udaipur. 'Parmo' (i.e., compelling the subjects to purchase the state-grain at an arbitrarily fixed price) is referred to in the Akola pillar inscription of 1800 A.D.(37) How many of these taxes were actually collected in the period under study cannot be said for certain to-day. The agriculturists were also required to pay a tax called 'Lakkad Chakari' for the wood they fell in the jungle.(38) The free use of wood was permitted by the Rana by special grants.(39)

Beside these, the people were required to supply forage and woods to the army of the king. The cities were required to supply a certain portion of provisions when the king was on tour.(40) And the bankers were required to supply beds and quilts to the state officers on official tours.(41)

(C) OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME :-

The state worked some profit through mines of silver, copper, iron and marble .(42) The ' nazarana ' by the nobles in the darbars on the ceremonial occasions and the fee paid by the successors to the estates of the nobles would have also brought some income to the treasury.(43) The Ekling Mahadeo (South Gate) Temple Inscription of the days of Raimal says that the property of heirless persons escheated to the state after their deaths.(44) The booty from the enemy cities, the presents from the friendly kings

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and ransom of the war captives were extra recognized sources of income. The quit rents paid by the Bhumias and, possibly, fines imposed on the offenders, would have also added some income to the state.(45). All the receipts were collected in a vault in Chittor which is still called ' Naulakha Bhandar'.

(d). Exemptions from Taxation:-

The exemption of the inhabitants of Mandsaur from Danu and Vishwaki by Sanga and the exemption from Dana granted by Banavir to Charans, Bhats, Brahmins, Jogis, etc., prove that manytimes people of some locality or members of certain communities were exempted from the payment of certain taxes. The decrees announcing these exemptions were erected either in localities the people of which were exempted or in the capital if all people of a particular description were to be its beneficieries.

(II-B) PUBLIC FINANCE(EXPENDITURE)

The chief items of expenditure were the maintenance of the court and the royal family. The luxury of Silhadi and the hugeness of his harem establishment might have had their counterparts in the Sisodia palaces also. And this by itself would have been a great strain on the treasury.(46) Next came the repairs of the forts, the purchase or manufacture of arms and ammunitions, expenses of the army raised to meet some emergency, provisioning of the forts, the maintenance of state horses, eleplants and other animals, the charities of the Ranas, and possibly, the payment of the officers who did not receive jagirs for their services. The construction of tanks, temples and palaces, as in the case of Udai Singh , or the fortification of the royal palace(as done by Banavir in Chittor), or the

the repait of the old dams(cf.the repair of Pichhola by Sanga)[47] or the construction of the cenetophs of the deceased rulers(cf. Vikramjit's constfuction of Sanga's eenetoph)[48] were also some of the other items of expediture in those days. Peets,dancers, ministrels, etc., might have also been burdens on the finances of the state. The expenses of the various administrative departments were also a charge upon the treasury. The despatch of a spy by Banavir to Kumbhalner for information about Udai Singh suggets that intelligence department also functioned in these days (II-C). (ii COINS AND WEIGHTS)

Sarvaneswara Temple inscription(Udaipur) refers to Drama (Dama) and Rupakas (Rupees) as coins current in the days of Allat. Amar Kavya[49] has spoken about 15,000 rupees being paid by Maldeo to his father-in-law Jait Singh who at the time of Vir Bai's marriage gave it over Udai Singh. Toda Rai Singh inscription speake about Mewari Tank (or Taka). The Patta of Delwara mentions Nal ki kori as a tax which was collected, as its name suggests,in Kodis, Nensi[50] refers to Fadiya which was current in Mewar. The exact value of these coins cannot be determined to-day. The charities of the Ranas included grains which were distributed in ' mans'. Sarvaneswara Temple Inscription refers to ' Tula' as a measure in weight, which upto the present-day is equivalent to 5 seers. The gold being given by the Ranas in ' tolas' suggests that the precious metals were weighed in 'tola ' and its subdivisions.

(III) THE NOBLES AND OTHER LANDHOLDERS

(a) Nobles:-

Though the state of Mewar was founded by the Sisodias,

they had no monopoly of receiving jagirs from the ~~xxx~~ state. Sajja Jhala and Ajja Jhala got Delwara and Badi Sadari respectively from Sanga; Karamchand Pawar got Bijolia from Vikramjit , and Jaimal Rathor and Surjan Hada (Chauhan) got Badnor on different occasions from Udai Singh. The jagirs were given either for maintenance to nobles coming to Mewar for service (cf. Ajja, Sajja, Jaimal) or as a reward for some service already renedered to the Rana(cf. Surjan getting the Chaurasi of Phulia after the Battle of Jagner). Prithviraj's promise to the Sada Solankis to give them Desuri in Jagir if they captured it from Madadecha Chamans(-5 (51) shows that it was not uncommon in those days to dangle prospects of a good reward for some brave action. The members of the royal family were granted jagirs for their maintenance. The bestowal of the title of 'Rao' on the sons of Karamchand Pawar by Sanga for his bravery in the Battle of Chanderi proves that the sons of the nobles were sometimes knighted for their personal bravery during the lifetime of their fathers.

The nobles received ' pattas ' from the Ranas in which the extent of their jagirs,their duties and immunities were specified (of.the Patta of Delawara (52)) . The nobles supplied the state ~~with~~ army with quota of soldiers at the time of war,had to maintain peace and order within their estates, protect the mountain passes (53) and punish offenders passing through their jagirs (54) . If anything untowards happened,the noble within whose estate is occurred ,was held responsible for it (55) . We do not know if ' Dhonsa' (i.e.,the forcible ~~xxxxxxx~~ imposition of state servants or cattle for maintenance on a noble) was then prevalent as a corrective for the

recalcitrant nobles. Besides the land specified in the patta, the nobles were further granted some villages for grass and wood for their households.(56) The jagir of a noble who left Mewar lapsed to the state. The threat of the partisans of Udai Singh after the battle of Maholi to the supporters of Banavir that if the latter continued in their loyalty to Banavir their jagirs would be forfeited suggests that confiscation of lands of the opposing nobles was current in those days. The forfeited lands were distributed among the loyal nobles (cf. the distribution of the lands of pro-Banavir nobles to the partisans of Udai Singh). The Rana could change one jagir for another(cf.Surjan's getting Badnor for Phulia).(57) The marriage of a daughter of Udai Singh with Man Singh of Delwara and the marriage of Ratansi with the daughter of Karamchand Pawar can be cited as instances of the fact that sometimes the nobles gave, and got from the Ranas, daughers to wife. However, the many more instances of the marriages of the Ranas with the daughters of the nobles of the adjoining states might suggest that though nothing prevented the Ranas from entering into matrimonies with the nobles, they seldom entered into them. The giving of the fort of Chittor to Udai Singh by Akheraj Sonigara in dowry reveals a strange practice. Then Chittor was ruled by Banavir. So this gift amounted to giving something not in the possession of the donar. It could only be a promise of support in acquiring the gifted land for the donee. The nobles married amongst themselves. There is nothing on record to show that the previous permission of the Rana was necessary for it.

The members of the royal family who got jagirs for their maintenance were called ' Babas' (58), Ordinarily, they had no right of

adoption. In case of their dying issueless their estate reverted to the state.(59) However,Udai Singh permitted Khangar to succeed his brother Sanyidas Chundawat. It is all the more intriguing in the light of the fact that the deceased had during his lifetime adopted Shakati Singh(s/o Udai Singh) who was denied the right of succession.(60)

The present-day division of the nobles of Mewar into different grades was done by Rana Amar Singh II. We do not know what were the • criteria of fixing the grades and precedance of the nobles in those days. However,some standard might have existed.

The part played by the nobles in by-passing Jaisa and putting Sanga on the throne and the active participation of Karamchand Pawar and others in the assassination of Vikramjit prove that the nobles were not political • ciphers in those days. They could install a minor king and conquer the country for him(Cf. Udai Singh's coronation at Kumbhalner by the nobles and the subsequent expulsion of Banavir). The conquest of Chittor from the Gujrat garrison in the days of Vikramjit is also a significant act of the nobles done at their own initiative alone. The evacuation of Chittor by Udai Singh was also a result of the pressure of these nobles. Though some nobles did leave Mewar and accept service in some outside court(e.g., Narsingdeo and others joined Bahadur Shah and Shuja Balacha went over to Maldeo), none of them turned against Mewar. Suja Balecha left the service of Maldeo and returned to Mewar when asked by the letter to attack Udai Singh.(61) It is very significant that two conditions of Surjan's treaty with Akbar were: (1) not to bear arms against the Rana and (2) always to give three

Jaimal's Palace, Chittor

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cheers in the name of the Rana alone.

The ruined palaces of Jaimal, Surjan and Rao Durgabhan at Chittor and the reference to the palaces of Surjan and Durgabhan at Udaipur (62) prove that the nobles lived in their own palaces at the capital. The attempt at the capture of Jhala Sultan by, and his revolt against, Banavir suggest that the Ranas attempted to imprision inconvenient nobles who also felt themselves free to revolt and join the enemy. The ~~enemy~~ army of the nobles was not necessarily tribal in the its composition. (63) The sons of the nobles could get a separate jagir for themselves by some extra ordinary service. (64) Goyand got Begu , Kanha Jhala got Gogunda (65) and Jagga Chundawat got Amet. (66) Offended members of the nobles' families joined other clans for service. (67) Nobles who left Mewar owe their displeasure were persuaded to return. (68)

The nobles could grant some portion of their jagirs to their followers or family members. These sub-vassals stood in their relations with their lords in the some way as the nobles stood in relation to the Ranas. These sub-vassals claimed certain rights from their overlords and made remonstrance to the higher authorities against them, if oppressed. (69)

(b). Other ~~(b)~~ Landholders:-

There was a class of landholders called Bhumias. They sometimes possessed entire villages and paid small quit-rent for the land they held in Bhum (70) . These Bhumias collected a tax from the people, which was called Bhumia Bant. (71) They were required to keep guard on the villages and to wait upon the state officials. In case of war they served the army and got simply rations and no pay during the days of active service. (72) Another type of landholders

were priests or Brahmins,holding lands in virtue of copper-plates recording gifts from the Ranas. They were called Shashaniks. They performed no military servic to the state not paid any revenue or any other tax. Several of these grants were made by Sanga and Udai Singh on the occasions of luner or solar eclipses. Vikramjit granted one village at the time of his marriage. Similarly,Udai Singh bestowed a village on Thakat Gaga Vaga one the annual Shraddha of Sanga.(73) Such lands could be forefeited by the state only on some grave offence.(74)

(IV) MILITARY.

(a). Personnel:-

The army consisted of the soldiers raised from the crown demesne and the quota supplied by the nobles. Nothing on record gives any idea as to how the quota contributed by the nobles was fixe The nobles brought along with them their clansmen and vassals into battlefields. The Bhumais also served in the army whenever required. In the days of emergency some extra direct xxxx recruitment was also made and to meet its expenses a tax called Fauj Varad was collected. The followers of the refugee nobles in Mewar sometimes fought along side of the army of Mewar under the command of the Ranas(e.g.,the Afgan followers of Mahmud Lodi in the Battle of Kanwah and of Gazi Khan etc., in the Battle of Haldi Ghati). The chieftains of the adjoining states also came with their armies sometimes and fought und the Rana(of. the Rajas in the Battle of Kanwah and Harmada).

b).Composition:-

Upto the days of Rana Vikramjit the army of Mewar was composed of only three component units,viz.,Infantry, Cavalry and Elephantry. Chariots might have formed a part of the army transport.

Nothing on record shows that they were used in actual fighting. Rana Udai Singh added artillery unit to the army. The artillery section consisted of matchlockmen and gunners. Jaimal's throwing away of heavy cannons in Kukadeswara Tank (Chittor) points to the presence of heavy ordinance pieces in the days of Udai Singh. It might be said on the authroity of Amar Kavya (75) that Mewar at that time had cannons capable of darting balls weighting half a man i.e., about 20 seers(Bengali). The artillety department was managed by the Afgan gunners from Bihar. The invitation to Hindu gunners from the neighbouring states by Rana Amar Singh (76) shows that for a long time Mewar had to depend on outsiders for manning her artillery. Swords,spears,bows,daggers and arrows formed the chief weapons of war while shields,iron-caps and armours were the principal defence accompaniments. The bodies of horses and elephants were suitably covered for protection. Elephants were trained to wield double-edged swords in battlefields and to oppose the enemy elephants. They were also used to push open the gates of the forts by their foreheads. Some of the elephants were very costly. The elephant Meghnad was priced at Rs.60,000/- The horse Lal Lashkar cost 20,000 rupees. The horses were fed on 'Udad' and Jaggery for improving their stamina. (77) The adamance of Surj Suralmal in refusing to return the elephant Meghnad and horse Lal Lashkar proves that it was humiliating for a Rajput to surrender to any one his horse or elephant under duress. However, the Rajput did not maim or disable their animals like Bahadur Shah on the eve of his flight from Mandsaur. The animals under dispute were given

away to charans from whom it was disgraceful for any Rajput to anatch them away(cf. Surajmal's gift of Meghnad and Lal Lashakar to Charan Misara Bhan). The horses from Arabia(called Dariyayi ghode (78)), Iraq (79) and Kathiwad (80) were valued most for their speed and form. The cannons were thrown away in deep tanks to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy. Sanga rode on a stately elephant with all the paraphernalia of royalty in the Battle of Kanwah. It proved fatal. The Rana could be easily spotted out as a victim of a dexterous shot. Bikramjit went on elephant-back in the Battle of Jiran against Bahadur Shah and returned to Chittor wounded and vanquished. Since then no Rana is reported going to oppose his enemy on an elephant.

(c) Strategy:-

If the Rana led the army he acted as the commander-in-chief. Otherwise whosoever amongst the nobles got the assignment led the army. Upto the time of the Battle of Kanwah the Sisodias had fought on four-piece formation basis. One of the units acted as the centre while two formed its right and left wings. The remaining one acted as a cushion for the centre and stood behind it for this purpose. It was called Chandawal. An advance party was also sent to test the strength of the enemy. It was called Harawal. It was regarded as a great honour to be a member of this advance party (cf. the dispute between Shaktawats and Chundawats for leading this unit (81)). The mode of fighting was simple: to fall upon the opposite units of the enemy like torrential waters and to force themselves upon the opponent by the fury of the charge and personal bravery. As Dungarpur ki Khyat has informed a us soldiers were ennobled through the permission of wearing

Wall of Chittor Fort

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gold in their feet just before the battle as an inducement to fight well.(82) No concerted strategy or long range manoeuvring played any significant part in these battles. Sanga lost the battle of Kanwah to the superior strategy of Babar. Vikramjit also lost the Battle of Jiran, fought on traditional lines, due to the same reason. Udai Singh let the army fight pitched battles before the siege of Chittor by Akbar. When the Mughals invaded Mewar,Udai Singh took to hills to harass the besiegers from behind. The throwing of a rope around the neck of Rao Maldeo by Prayagdas in the Battle of Merta(83) proves that the enemy was dragged by neck by rope and killed. The soldiers practised musketry before the war and edged their swords while going to the battle-field.(84) Wounded people were nursed after the battle.(85) These who could not walk were carried to safe places in palanquins(of. the flight of Surajmal Kshemakarnot after the battle of Gambhiri) . People reported dead in the battles refused to return home, believing that their wives might have immolated themselves on hearing about their demise.(86)

(d).Forts:-

The country was dotted with strategically well placed forts both on the borders as well as withing the state. The forts were built on eminent and suitable tablelands. They were mostly girdled by mountains almost on all the sides . However, the fort of Chittor is bordered by plains on two sides, with river Gambhiri in the west and Bedach and Gambhiri in the notth. This makes for the inability for its defence. There were as many as 7 gat to the fort on one side alone(of. the seven gates of Chittor in the west). The mansonary of these gates made them militarily autonomous for their defence. So even after the fall of two lower gates to

to Tatar Khan the fort of Chittor stood successfully against Bahadur Shah for about 2 months. 74 tanks in the the fort of Chittor suggest that water supply was specially cared for while building forts.

Special officers were appointed to serve as commandants of the forts. They are referred to in earlier inscriptions as ' Talaraksha'.(87) As the Mandsaur inscription of Sanga suggests the commandants possibly acted as the thanedar of the city also. The forts were well provided with garrisons,arms and ammunition,food and other materials. The garrisons always made sorties on the enemy before the investment of the fort by the latter. During the siege the garrision closed the gates,showered arrows,bullets and balls and made occasional sorties. Udai Singh had also left some units to harass the Mughals from outside the fort. While the garrison fought on,it was expected that some outside relief would come in time. Sometime suspension of hostilities through farcial negotiations were made to gain time (cf. the negotiations of Bhav Rao with Muzaffar Shah (II) of Gujarat). When there were no prospects of any help from outside the garrison either capitulated (cf. Surjan's surrender of Ranthambhor) or committed Jauhar(cf. II & III Sakas of Chittor). As the surrender of Chittor to Sher Shah shows, sometimes the forts were handed over under instructions to the enemy without any opposition to save the military potential and striking power for some future suitable occasion. While attacking the enemy fort, ladders were used for scaling the walls. There was no loss of chivalry in climbing the back walls of a fort for gaining access inside(cf. Sanga's conquest of Ranthambhor). The commandants of the

forts epuld assign the defence of their charge to their deputies (of .Chakrasen Dhandharaya's deputy dying at the hands of Baber in the fall of Chanderi). Spies were sent to report about the movements of the enemy troops.(88)

(e)Rules of War.

In the times under study,Mewar had almost forgotten all the rules of warfare which are e commonly associated with the Rajput character. It was not regarded unchivalrous to attack and kill an enemy, worshipping Shiva in a mountain cave(cf.the assassination of Malla Sokanki by the partisans of Udai Singh after the Battle of Maholi) or to invit an enemy to visit a temple and kill him while he was engaged in making obeisance to the deity(cf.the murder of Sarangeo by Prithviraj).Pratap's proposal to attack Man Singh when the latter was engaged in hunting with his few followers should rather be treated as a practice of the day rather than an exception. However,Jhala Bida's admonition to Pratap advising the latter not to take advantage of the enemy's unguarded moments points to the fact that even in those days there were some people who cherished the code of chivalry.(89) The fort of Chittor was acquired by the partisans of Udai Singh from Banavir by a bribe as well as the treachery of the commandant of the fort. Udai Singh obtained the fort of Ranthambhor and Ajmer by golde rather than by gun. Taking lesson from the defeat of Virkamjit in the Battle of Jiran and his own defeat at Harmada,Udai Singh refused to fight Akbar before the Mughals besieged Chittor. Night attacks were made(cf. Sanga at the time of Malik Ayaz's siege of Mandsaur)(90) . The cows,

horses[91] and camels of the enemy were taken away.[92] Praise of the enemy ended the quarrel.[93] Traffic was blocked for years if the tribal quarrels persisted for a long time.[94] Treaties between two parties were made in the name of their patron deities.[95] Poison was added to the leaves used for bandaging the wounds of the enemy.[96] Twig in a water basin was a medium of communicating danger.[97] Pepple walked twenty one steps to take oath to wreck vengeance upon their enemies.[97a]

(f).Ethics of war.

Kumbha's practice of taking captive the entire female population from the enemy's town was limited by Sanga to the taking into captivity of the Muslim women and children only(cf.the enslavement of the Muslim ladies and childeren of Ahmadnagar by Sanga). The female captives were turned into dancers(cf. the episode during the entertainment of Bahadur Shah at Chittor),and possibly,into concubines. Sanga's principle of not killing any lady or a fleeing enemy[98] might have been an affirmation of the practice of his predecessors.The transplantation of the Devadas of Girwa who had taken to agriculture ,to the plain of Chittor by Udai Singh suggests that inconvenient newly subjugated subjects were transported to suitable places for better state supervision on them.The captured kings were not killed. They were nursed and well looked after. In case of any Muslim King taken captive ,he could be released on paying ransom and leaving hostages but not without insults(cf. Sanga's release of Mahmud Khilji). The enemy cities were plundered(cf. Sanga's plunder of Bisalnagar). The property and life of the Brahmins, even in the enemy country,were regarded as sacred and left untouched (cf. Sanaga at Badnagar). Murder of a 'sagotriya' (i.e. a kinsmen) was

regarded as a sin by some, who avoided it as far as possible; and if they any time committed it, expiation for it was sometimes undertaken(cf. Udai Singh's visit to Dwarka). Sanga's practice of not looting property from the ladies (99) might have been practised by his successors also. The conduct of Sanga after the battle of Kanwah shows that the bodies of the soldiers were cremated on the next day of the battle. The corpse of the missing persons was deligently searched. The wounds of the injuried soldiers were bandaged. (99a) Cease fire was sometimes arranged between the belligerents by the intervention of the third party (cf. Udai Singh's role in three-day truce between Jaimal and Maldeo in 1554 A.D.).

(V) ADMINISTRATION

(a). Justice:- The available evidence fails to reveal any trace of the post of chief Justice of the state or of the presence of civil or criminal jurisprudence. In the days so bad when murders on very small pretexts were common, no criminal justice could have existed. Even in much later days murder was regarded as a compundable offence. (100) It was not a crime against the state. Such offences were regarded as personal and the matter could be easily settled by sword. During the days of Tod civil cases were decided by the eldermen of the cities, who were called 'Shresthis'. (101) The reference to ' Sirajanati' in the Mandsaur Inscription of Sanga suggests that even in those days this practice existed. The Principles of Parashar Smriti might have been applied in cases of succession and the like and Jagat Singh might have not introduced the practice of carrying on the administration on the principles of Parasha for the first time. (102) The intervention of Rana Mokal in the dispute resulting from Supiyarde's elopement (103) might be understood to point that when the faimly feuds went very far the Rana came in to compose the differences. Thefts and robberies by professional

anti-social elements
(would have been suitably and summarily punished.

d) Administrative Divisions:-

From the scattered references about the gifts of villages in Amarkavya,(104) Ekling Temple(South Gate) Inscription,(105) Raj Prashasti(106) and copper-plates it can be inferred that village was the basic unit for administrative and revenue purposes. The letter of Sanga to Sisodia Surjan Singh of Ajmer and the copper-plate of Banavir (Sept-1.1537 A.D.) refer also to 'paragana' where the donated lands were located. Amar Kavya also refers to the district of Pur in connection with the charities of Udai Singh . It appears that the crown demesne was divided into districts (paraganas) which were collections of villages. The various 'thikanas' of the state would have been different semi-autonomous administrative units. Nothing was definte about the size of the paraganas or the thikanas. Thikana of Delwara had 231 villages, Badnor 100 and Phulia 84. The bestowal of 10 villages on Surjan by Udai Singh after the Battle of Jagner suggests the possibility of an intermediary unit between village and 'paragana'. Its extent is uncertain. It is fair to presume that itwas not invariably of 10 villages. The words 'Nimsim sudi' in the copper-plates in relation to the donated villages means that each village had a boundary. The reference to Kotharia, Neemuch, Bhansrorgarh, Mandsaur,etc., suggests the existence of towns. The mention of Rao Jaimal along with Kotharia in the colophon of 'Dharma Nripa Katha',(107) means that a person could act as thanedar of two places concurrently. The Mandsaur Inscription of Sanga suggeste that each city of importance might have had a 'thanedar'. We do not know whether the offices of

'thanedar' and commandant of the fort were combined in case of forts. However, it is not unreasonable to presume that usually they were no separate.

(VI) MEWAR AND HER ALLIES

The Rajput states on the the border of Mewar, like Bundi. Sirohi, Ajmer, Idar, Marwar, Dungarpur, Banswara, Devalia, Rampura, etc., were neither always subordinate nor friendly to Mewar ~~not were they aleways friendly towards her~~. Marwar broke away after the death of Sanga for ever. Amar Kavya (108) refers to Bhagwandas being in the service of Udai Singh. It means that Amber cut away from Mewar in the reign of Udai Singh. The ~~xxxxx~~ attitude of Bundi, Dungarpur, Banswara, Devalia and Rampura depended upon the circumstances of the moment. Even though the last four states in this list represent the junior branches of the Sisodia family, still their fidelity or hostility to Mewar could not be taken for granted Kumbha had to reduce Rao Achalkaran of Rampura. Sanga also had to defeat Surajmal of Devalia. These states submitted to Mewar whenever there was a strong ruler on the throne of Mewar . After the death of such a ruler they tended to fall out (cf.Bundi in the reign of Ratansi). And when a new string ruler came in he had to try again to bring them back into the orbit of Mewar, sometimes even ~~xxx~~ by force (Cf.the Battle of Mahi river). The reluctance of Rao Surajmal Hada to appear personally before Ratansi shows that they were always active to assert their independence. Ratansi's attempt at the assassination of Surajmal shows how desperately the Ranas had to act sometimes to keep these states within their control. However, the ~~xxx~~ presence of Rawal Askskaran in the Battle of Harmad after his

victory over the army of Mewar in the Battle of Mahi river shows that the relations between the rulers of the junior Sisodia branches and the Ranas were not always inimical. There was no inveterate hostility between them to prevent friendship and good will at times.

(VII) RELIGION AND ETHICS.

Though officially Shaivaites due to their allegiance to Ekling Mahadeo, The Ranas of Mewar were personally free to worship other gods of their choice. Kumbha was a great devotee of Vishnu. The temple of Varaha built by him in Chittor stands to this day. Mira was a worshipper of Krishna. During the lifetime of Sanga she built a temple of Krishna in Chittor, and the charge of its worship was entrusted to one Rajadhar Pandit. This pandit received 2,000 bighas of land and from Mira in Pur-Mandal district, which his descendants locally called Katiya Tiwaris, still enjoy in several parcellings (109). Ratansi made a grant to a gardner for supplying flowers to the Vaishanavite temple of Rupanarayanji at Savantri (110). Udai Singh built the temple of Udai Shyam in Udaipur. Jainism also flourished in Mewar. Besides several known temples, Kirtistambha and inscriptions in Chittor and elsewhere in Mewar, (111) the colophons of several manuscripts attest the fact of their being copied in the reigns of Sanga and Banavir. Asuji Deopura, the regent of Udai Singh at Kumbhalner, Karam Singh Ausawal, referred to in Shatrunjaya Tirtha Inscription as 'mukhya Rajya vyapar mantri' of Ratansi, and Bhasar, a minister of Banavir, (112) were Jains. The fact that Duma Mehta sided with the offended nobles against Vikramjit in helping the Minas in lifting

state cattle from the plain of Chittor and that Chil Mehta served Banavir as the commandant of Chittor lends support to the view that Banavir's power rested,possibly,on the support of the Jains. However the Rajput did build temples in place of mosques or converted mosques into cattle sheds.(113)

The Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription of the reign of Raimal gives a list of the villages granted by the Ranas from Lakha to Raimal for the maintenance of the said temple. And we have no reason to believe that this practice was dropped by the later Ranas. Animal sacrifices were offered to Kali(114) and the head of the enemy, caught unawares,was also placed before the deity whenever possible(cf.Prithviraj's murder of Sarangdeo). The worship of Kal Bhairava with human limbs by Rao Surtan of Bundi(115) might serve for inferring that perhaps this cult might be current in some parts of Mewar as well. The insistence of the wife of Sanga on Mira to visit the temple of Amba Bhavani at the time of her daughter-in-law's first entry in her father-in-law's house points to the practice that newly wedded royal brides were required to pay respect to this deity. The story of the capture of Chittor by Rana Hammir through the arrangements made through his wife(who had gained entry into the fort on the plea of paying respects to Amba Bhavani temple after her confinement)(116) similarly points to the pratice that the royal brides were required to visit this temple with their first baby. The fort of Chittor was regarded as the symbol of Goddess Bhawani(117) and at the time of its fall into enemy's hands royal blood was offerred through the death of some 'crown-head' in the battlefield to propitiate this deity. The sons

of Lakhamsi and Rawat Bagh bore crown on their heads to die next day due to this belief only.

The Dungarpur-ki Khyat has informed us that Man Bharti, the saviour of Jagmal, was returning from Ujjain after an armed clash with the Vairagis on the bank of river Kshipra. It further informs that Man Bharti was riding on an elephant, Jagmal was put in a palanquin and after the latter's recovery was given a horse, four attendants and a peon to look after this animal (118). This is enough to let us know about (1) the factional rivalries and fights between different sects of the Sadhus and (2) their huge establishments during these days.

Grants of villages were many times made by the Ranas for meeting the expenses of maintaining the temples (119). Ratansi made a grant of a patch of land for the specific purpose of obtaining flowers for the temple of Rupnarayanji from the donee. Small tracts of lands given in charity were called 'grās' (1 Each Rana fed a certain number of Brahmins daily. Similarly, cows, grain and sometime even gold were daily distributed. On specific religious occasions charity on a large scale was practised. Copper-plates refer to lands being given to Brahmins on the days of Ekadashi (121), Dwadashi (122), Amavasya (123) or Purnima (124). On solar (125) or lunar eclipses (126) villages were often given to the Brahmins by Sanga and Udai Singh. Sanga is reported to have given his weight in gold but the detailed account of this ceremony is not preserved for us in any Vanshavali. Udai Singh gave his weight in silver to the Brahmins in Dwarka. On death anniversaries of their parents(of Udai Singh's grant on the samvatsari day

of Sanga[127] and Ratansi's grant on the Samvatsari of his mother Dhanbai[128], on the annual Shradha days(cf.Sanga's grant on the annual shradha of Raimal),on the occasions of their marriages (cf. Vikramjit's grant at the time of his marriage in Mandalgarh[129]) and at the time of the building of the cenetophs of their ancestors(cf. Vikramjit's grant to Harikantha on the commissioning of the cenetoph of Sanga[130]) the Ranas are reported to have given lands to the Brahmins. Rawat Bagh's first act as the ' ruler of Chittor' was to grant land to the Brahmins for the peace of the soul of his father. It suggests that the first act of a new Rana was to grant land for the spiritual benefit of his predecessor. Charans were held as much sacred as the Brahmins and the grants made to these people never reverted to the state(cf. Surajmal's distribution of villages to charans, brahmins, etc.,) . The construction of tanks was a work of special religious merit in those days. On the completion of Udai Sagar, Udai Singh rode along its banks in a palanquin with his wives and in the end distributed villages to the Brahmins. Cow was held specially sacred. The greatest invdication against any offence,besides ' Gadahgal' , was that of killing of a cow. People believed in the existence of ghosts and Ratansi made a grant for propitiating the spirit of Raghavde during the reign of Sanga.[131]

VIII) ART AND ARCHITECTUTE.

(a). Music and Dancing:-

Though Kumbha and Raimal spent the best part of their lives in the saddle still the former composed a book

'Sangitraj' on music (132) and the latter won the appellation of 'Sangitarāava' (133) from his contemporaries. So we have no reason to presume that this tradition was not carried on during the days of their immediate successors. This is supported by the colophon of the manuscripts of ' Sangitraj' of Kumbha copied in the reign of Udai Singh. (134) Mira ,the daughter-in- law of Sanga, was an accomplished musician. Her special composition 'Mira Ka Mala is still famous for its charms. Dancing was also cultivated. It was at a dancing party that Bahadur killed the nephew of Sanga. The several graceful female dance poses in the temple built by Kumbha in Chittor testify to the excellence reached by this art in those days. Mira herself was a good dancer.

(b). Painting and calligraphy:-

A patch of painting in the palace of Panna in Chittor testifies to the fact that painting was also patronised in those days.Though left to suffer the ravages of climate and monsoons this piece still retains some colour. It is a remarkable feat of the then colour-makers of Mewar . Calligraphy was also practised in those days. At the end of each inscription the name of its engraver is given. It suggests that calligrapher was respected for his art. His name was usually mentioned in the inscription along side of the names of the builder and the engineer. The inscriptions of Kumbhe in Kutila script(of. slabs of Kumbhalner Inscription of Kumbha preserved in Victoria Hall Museum,Udaipur) suggest that it was a very popular script in those days. However, the inscriptions at Savantri ,the Mandsaur Inscription of Sanga,the two Rampol Inscriptions of Banavir in Chittor and the

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manuscripts of Sursagar of the days of Udai Singh are found in current Devnagari script. One inscription of Banavir near Rampol Gate(Chittor) is in the 16th century A.D. Mewar script. The copper-plates of these days are mostly found in Mewari script only.

(c) Architecrure:-

Temple building was the chief hobby of the rulers of these days. Sanga is said to have built a temple at Sikandarabad which was standing in the days of Ranchhod Bhatt, the author of Amar Kavya.(135) Udai Singh constructed a temple of Udai Shyam at Udaipur. Mira is also reported to have built a temple at Chittor. The temples were usually built on a high plinth negotiable by a flight of steps. The walls of the porch and the 'mandap' (central hall) went upto the middle of the height of the sides. The upper half was left open. The upper border of these walls were paved with smooth flat stones with vertical slabs for their outer [illegible] borders. People can rest comfotably there. The mandap was crowned w with a hemispheric dome capped with a pointed skyward end(i.e., Shiva Shikhar) . The main chamber (Nija Mandir) of the temple was surmounted with a pyramidal dome(i.e. , Vishnu Shikhar), near the top of which stood the flagstaff. A great number of statues of different deities in the Victoria Hall Museum belong to the days of Kumbha. It is likely that in the days of his successors the statues might have been made on their models. An image of Ganspati installed by an oilman in the reign of Sanga is also preserved in this museum. The artists and masons from Mewar were employed even in Gujarat (136) and elsewhere (137) for the construction and repair of the temples. A Book on architecture called ' Raj Vallabh' was also

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written in the days of Kumbha by Mandan. The later constructions might have been reared on its principles.

d). Tanks:-

Vikramjit built a tank ,possibly, near the cenetoph of Sanga, Udai Singh built Udai Sagar lake. The lakes in those days were constructed by damming a river at a narrow passage. At the place where the current struck the hardest upon the dam, a broad circular mould was built. It contracted as it ascended up. The dam in those days was bult by filling with earth the gap between two parallel serpentine walls. Several ~~' V' shape~~ flights of steps ending in ' V' shape were provided at places to lead the people to the waters. The tanks were built solely due to strategic and religious motives. The depression between the mountains and the pass of Debari(Udaipur) was filled by the water of river Ahad by constructing the Udai Sagar lake. It prevents the enemy from entering into the inner Girwa region by travelling along the banks of river Bedach.

(e) Palaces:-

Udai Singh built a palace on the top of Moti Magari (139) to the north of the city of Udaipur. Amar Kavya says that he bestowed upon Pratap a palace, known as Damdama on the bank of Pichola. Possibly, Udai Singh might have built this palace also . Surjan and Durgabhan are reported to have built their mansions at Udaipur. Shatrunjaya Tirtha Inscription says that Ratansi,the elder brother of Karam Singh Kuswal,the chief minister of Rana Ratansi, (140) built a mansion in Chittor. Such mansions and palaces were strong and close structures with thick circumscribing walls and a few

road-looking windows. Even upto the days of Jagat Singh the palace architecture of Mewar lacked feminine touch of Shah Jahan type. Only some bold geometrical designs constituted the chief art motif. Latice work was completely absent. The cenetoph of Amar Singh I at Maha Satiyan(Udaipur) is a classical example of this type. The ruins of the palace of Udai Singh on Moti Magari and of Rana Pratap at Chavand are the only surviving specimens of the palace architecute of these days. For the selection of the sites of the forts and palaces Brahmins or Sadhus were consulted.(141)

(IX) LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The Shatrunjaya Tirtha Inscription of the days of Ratansi and the manuscript of ' Sutak Nirnaya' of the days of Udai Singh,(142) were written in Sanskrit. It clearly means that the impetus given to Sanskrit by Kumbha and Raimal was not lost in the reigns of their successors.(143) However, Mira composed her poetry in Mewari spiced with Gujarati. Dingal, a language evelved by charans to suit their Hindi knwoing patrons, was also flourishing.(144) Ashia Karamsi Charan composed ' Suja Balicha ra Kavitta'(145) in Dingal in the reign of Udai Singh. Mahapa Jaitawat,(146) Tikam Chanchariya(147) and Haridas Charan flourshed in the days of Sanga.(148) Common people used Mewari can be inferred from the fact that almost all the copper-plates are written in Mewari dialect. The inscriptions of Sanga and Banavir are also in Mewari. So also is the Patta of Delwara by Pratap.

Except the Vanshavalis, the entire contemporary charan literature of this period is in poetry- either Sanskrit or Dingal. Pao Jaimal composed his verses in XVI century Hindi.(149) Jain saints enriched the native literature by their compositions in Bhasha. Rajshil Upadhyaya wrote ' Vikramaditya Bapara Rasa' in 1506 A.D.(150) A great Jain monk scholar Hem Ratan, who is referred to by his pupil Ra

Padmaraj in ' Gora Badal Padamani' in 1588 A.D,[151] flourished in Mewar in the reign of Udai Singh.[152] The Ranas and nobles patronised charans and it is fair to presume that a great bulk of literature would have come down to us from their pens but for the II and III Sakas of Chittor and other calamities during the Mewar-Mughal wars.

(X) POSITION OF LADIES.

There is nothing on record to suggest that the birth of a daughter was unwelcome and that female infanticide was practised The education of Mira in religious lore at the hands of Gajadhar Pandit in Merta[153] suggests that the education for girls was mostly restricted to religious matters. The fact that the ladies of the aristocratic families received training in military science can be inferred from Tarabai's entry in Toda in full armour along with her husband Prithviraj, Karmeti's death in II Saka with sword in hand, and the participation in the last battle by the mother and wife of Patta during III Saka of Chittor.[154] It was regarded as socially disgraceful to reject the offer of marriage. So when Chunda refused to espouse Hansabai Rathor, Lakha did it. The marriage of Udai Singh with Vir Bai, the fiancee of Maldeo might be taken to mean that a girl promised in marriage to one could be given in marriage to another.[155] And when this happened a war followed between the past fiancee and the present husband of such a lady[156] (cf. the clashes between Maldeo and Udai Singh). The matrimonies could not always act as pacifiers of the personal quarrels during this period is revealed through the lifelong enmity between Maldeo and Udai Singh in spite of the fact that Udai Singh had married the sister of Maldeo and had given his own daughter in marriage to Ram Singh, s/o Maldeo. The forcible marriages of the Sisodia girls with Rathors

by Ranmal Rathor on the platform of corpses of their (girls) relatives and under the canopy of spears (157) might have had their parallels in the times under out study. The available evidence proves that the marriage of a beautiful girl was always attended by wat.

A handsome present was required to be made by the father-in-law to the son-in-law at the time of engagement and Udai Singh received 5 elephants and 300 horses from his father-in-law Akheraj Sonigara at the time of his betrothal. In the same way a good amount was received by the bridegroom in dowry at the time of marriage. Sanga received the Girwa region in dowary from his father-in-law ~~Rao~~ Bhana of Idar. Akheraj and Jhala Sultan paid Rs.10,000 and Rs. 15,000 repsctively to Udai Singh at the time of their daughters' marriages. Udai Singh also got Karamsi Ashiya from Akheraj in dowry on spacial request. (158) The near relatives of the bride also gave presents to the couple on this occasion. Swarupde had given by mistake a box containing the idol of Naganechi Devi to her younger sister Vir Bai at the time of latter's marriage. Maldeo's gift of Rs.15,000/- to his father-in -law Jait Singh suggests that sometimes some amount could be charged by the father-in-law from son-in-law for marriage expenses. The sending of his sword by Ratansi to wed the daughter of Prithviraj Kachhawaha shows that sword could act as proxy in marriage ceremony in those days. There is nothing on record to suggest that ' Pardah' system was observed then in Mewar. The exploits of Tarabai ,Karmeti, etc., on the other hand point to the absence of this custom . The mother of the Rana received investitute as a dowager-queen at the time of the succession of her son. (159) The threat of

of Dhanbai Rathor to commit suicide in her attempt to save Bahadur Khan and the successful part played by Karmati in getting the fief and the fort of Ranthambhor for her sons from Sanga prove that the ladies carried their point even in state matters either by violent threats or ingenuous tears. Bhatiyani Dhir Kumar, a wife of Udai Singh, built Bhatiyani Bazzar in Udaipur. (160)

However, the lot of ladies in those days was not enviable. Polygamy was the practice of the day. Prithviraj had 18 wives, Sanga 28, Ratansi 13, Vikramjit 5 and Udai Singh 20 . Besides, Sanga had 11 concubines and ~~Rana~~ Ratansi 5 . The name od Putalde, the mother of Banavir's mother, a concubine of Praithviraj has come down to us. However, there is no reason to believe that he had only one concubine. No concubine is referred to in case of Vikramjit but it is worth remembering that he died young. Though the number of the concubines of Udai Singh is recorded but the presence of his 19 natural sons (161) is enough to suggest that this number was not small. His (Udai Singh's) risking a wat with Haji Khan to get Pangarai is very significant point in this connnection. The putting of a leg of a cot on the palm of Nadamabai(sister of Prithviraj) by her husband Rao Jaimal of Idar points to the fact that even the royal families were not immune from the practice of torturing ladies. The surprise attack on Rao Jaimal by Prithviraj to avenge the insult to his sister suggests that such ill-treatments resulted in retaliation by the members of her paternal family. The threat of Jagmal to Ratans Sankhla to have the mother of Tara Bai dragged in public after tying her to the tail of horses harnessed to a cart shows the absence of respect even in the treatment of the ladies of the aristocratic families. The attempt on the life of Mira by Vikramjit proves ~~that~~

that inconvenient ladies of the royal family were disposed of either poison or snake-bite. One of the causes of the quarrel between Surajmal Hada and Ratansi was the suspicion on the part of the Rana of some illicit relationship between his wife and Surajmal. The elopment of Supiyarde(wife of Narsingh Sindhal) with Narbad due to ill-treatment should not be treated as an exceptional event of the reign of Raimal alone.

Nensi has cited instances which vouch for the facts that (162) (163) (164) ~~(165)~~ (165) the ladies were enslaved and beaten with sticks and ~~ladies~~ lashes (166) with their hands tied behind their backs . Out of the several co-wives (167) some were loved and others neglected. In one instance a chieftain had a forced three-day company with every bride married within this (168) (169) (170) estate. Desertion by ladies of their husbands due to ill treatment (171) (172) or disrespect, widow-remarriage, illicit relationship between stepsons (173) (174) (175) and step-mothers are also reported. Consorts and daughters were (176) taken away by the opponents to wife. Tuft of the deserting wife of the (177) wife of the enemy was cut away by way of challenge when she was asleep with her consort. Marriage parties some-times returned without (178) (179) (180) marriage. Barbers or their ladies conveyed news of the beauty of girls to their master who took them away for prostitution. Deserted (181) ladies were given away in marriage even by their parents. Sometimes people went to the extent of offering their sisters in marriage, even when their husbands were alive,to obtain help in revenging their (182) feuds.

Still many ladies immolated themselves on the pyres of their husbands. Whenever the remains of the deceased were disposed of elsewhere,his turban was sent to his wife; and she burnt herself along with this token(cf. the self-immilation of Umade in Mewar along

At the time of extreme peril the ladies of those days committed 'jauhar', i,e., wholesale suicide by jumping into leaping flames after killing their young ones by sword, poison of fire. About 3,000 children were drowned in II Saka of Chittor. While either committing Jauhar (184) or immolating with their husbands (185), the ladies bedecked themselves with ornaments and costly costumes and then die. The ladies immolated themselves on pyre of their husbands were highly respected. The greatest invocation against forfeiture in Patta of Delwara, next to Ekling, is the name of the Mahasatiyans.

1).Vanshavali 828, leaf 58(a) ; Mewar ke Ranaun-ki-Pidhiyaun ki Khyat,leaf 15(b).

2).Nensi I/89

3). Vanshavali 867,leaf 21(a)

4). Tod,op,cit .,I/262.

5).Vir Vinod II/401-2

6).Mewar ka Itihas (MS 882,SBU) ,item 225. For the text of this portion see Appendix.SS

7).Dr. Gopinath,op. Cit., p.188.

8).Amar Kavya,leaf 36(a)

8) Rana Raso Verses 213-26. For the next text of this portion see Appendix KK

10). Tod,op.cit., Appendix XX,I/244.

11).Pub.Oza: Banswada ka Itihas,p.55.n.1

12).Cf. Appendix E

13).Shatrunjaya Tirtha Inscription (Palitana) Epi.Ind.II/42-7, verse 23. In the same way Shri Samuddhar is called 'Mahamatya' of Rawal Tej Singh in the colophpn of 'Uttaraddhyana'(Pub.Dalal; A Description Catalogue of Jain MSS In Jain Bhandar of Patan, I/390)

14).Pub.Oza;Rajputana ka Itihas ,I/420.

15).Pub.Oza;Raj.Iti.I/426-7

16). Altekar: State and Government is Ancient India(1949),p.141

17).Cf. Nensi I/29;

18).See Appendix E

19)Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) office,Register entry no.979.See Appendix TT for the text of this copper-plate.

20) Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) Office,Register entry no.11.For the text of this copper plate see Appendix UU.

21) of.Appendix PP.

22). Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) office,Register entry no.1205.For its text see Appendix VV.

23).Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) office,Register entry No.920.For the text see Appendix WW.

24).Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) Office,Register entry No.1129.For the text see Appendix XX

25).of.Tod ,op.cit., Appendix XII,I/240.

26) see Appendix I(II)

27).Vir Vinod II/142.

28).Pub. Owa; Nagarini Pracharini Patrika (New sereies)I/451-2 see also Owa,Raj.Iti.II/630.

29). of. Tod .op.cit.,I/168.

30) See Appendix YY.

31). See Oza,Raj.Iti.II/630.

32). Tod, op.cit.I/169.

33). See ibid,Appendix XI,I/239.

34). ibid,Appendix XII.I/239.

35). ibid. Appendix XII,I/244.

36). ibid ,I/170.

37). ibid ,Appendix XX/I/240.

38). Nensi II/149.

39). of. The copper-plate of 1559A.D. issued by Udai Singh (Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) office, Register entry no.796.)

40).Tod,op.cit.,I/170.

41). cf.ibid,Appendix XV,I/241.

42). ibid,I/168-9

43).ibid,I/169.

44).Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription,verse 83.

45).Tod,op .cit.,I/169.

45A).Mirat-i-Sikandari,p.176.

46).cf. Rajmal's construction of a wall on the top of the mountain in Chittor(Exling Temple (South Gate) Inscription,verse 69.)

47).Vanshavali 828,leaf 61(a); Vanshavali 872,p.128; Vanshavali 878,leaf 66(b)

48.cf. Appendix UU.

49). cf. Amar Kavya,leaf 34(a)

50) Nensi I/38.

51).Raval Rana ki Vat,leaves 61(b).69(b).;Nensi I/217.

52).For the text of this Patta see Appendix YY

53). cf.the Patta of Delwara.

54). cf.Nensi II/417.

55) cf.the Patta of Delwara

56). cf.Nensi I/34.

57) ibid ,I/475.

58). Tod,op.cit,I/167.

59). ibid ,I/168.

60) Nensi I/34.

61). Rathran ri Khyat,leaf 52(b).54(a).See also Karamsi Ashia: Suja Balicha ra Kavitta(Appendix ZZ)

62). Amar Kavya,leaf 35(a).

63). cf.Nensi. I/75,175,179.

64). ibid,I/34.

65). See the Patta of Delwara,Appendix YY.

66). Nensi I/55-35

67). ibid,I/74.

68). ibid ,I/74,II/475.

69). of. Tod,op.cit.,Appendixes II &III; I/230-2

70) ibid,I/195-7

71).Nensi I/220.

72). Vir Vinod.I/136.

73). of.Appendix L.

74). Vir Vinod I/137.

75). Amar Kavya,leaf 36(b).

76). Amar Sar I/V/223.

77). of.Nensi I/225.

78). of.ibid II/171,182-3

79).of. ibid,II/164.

80) of.ibid,I/226-7

81). Tod,op.cit.,I/175-6.

82). Dungarpur-ki-Khyat,leaf,33.

83). Nensi I/164.

84) ibid,I/163.

85). Rawal Manaki Vat,lef 107(a);Dungarpur-ki-Khyat,leaf 30.

86).of,the refusal of Jagmal to return to Dungarpur after his recovery from the wounds of the Battle of Kanwah(Dungarpur-ki-Kh leaves 31-4.).

87).See Chirva Inscription of 1273. A.D. (Pub.Vir Vinod I/392, verses 10-12) where the appointments of Uddharan and Yogiraj are referred to the post of Talarakshya of Nagahrid by Mathan

Singh and Padma Singh respedtively on different occasions.

88). Shringi Rshi Inscription(Ref. Oza: Raj.Iti.) verse 16

89). Nensi I/69.

90). ibid, II/85, 342-

91) ibid, II/164, 305.

92). ibid, II/175.

93). ibid, II/190.

94). ibid. II/163. See also Mirat-i Sikandari, p.20.

95). ibid, II/221.

96) ibid, II/71.

97). ibid, II/84.

97(a). cf. Rathor's oath against the murderers of Rana Mokal(Nensi I/26).

98). Suryavamsha, leaf 49(a); Rajavali(without pagination)

98.a). Vanshavali 867, leaf 23(b).

99) Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a).

99(a) cf. Raval Rana ri Vat, leaf 107(a)

100). Tod, op. cit ., Appendix XVIII, I/243, See also I/213

101) ibid, I/171.

102) Jagat Singh Kavya, VII/V/48.

103). Nensi II/122.

104). see Amar Kavya, leaf 38(a)

105). See the post-script to the inscription, Pub. Vir-Vindd I/423-4

106). Raj Prashasti IV/18-19.

107). See Appendix JJ.

108) Amar Kavya, leaf 33(a).

109) From the records of the former Badnor estate.

110). Copperplate dated Phalgun Krishna 13, 1587 V.S.(Chief Commissioner(Udaipur) office, Regsiter entry no.144.

111) In a collection of the pedestal-inscription from the Jain images by Nemi Nath: Prashasti Sangrah, item 921 of 1508 from Mandsaur belongs to the reign of Raimal, item 958 of 1516 A.D. from Kotah and item 971 of 1527 A.D. from Bhanrorgadh belong to the reign of Sanga, and item 1006 of 1548 A.D. from Mandsaur and item 1017 of 1562 A.D. from Bhanerorgadh belong to the reign of Udai Singh.

112) Colophon of "Shri Upasak Dashanga Charitram": Pub. Dalal: "A Descriptive Catalogue of Jain Manuscripts in Jain Bhandar of Patan", I/390. For the text of this colophon see Appendix AAA.

113) cf. Medini Rai of Chanderi (Farishta II/60). See also Memoirs of Babar (II/292) for Sanga.

114) cf. Rawal Rana ki Vat, leaves 77(a)-(b)

115) Tod, op. cit., III/1479

116) ibid, I/318

117) cf. Mulnarayanji Temple (Chittor) Inscription: Pub. Nyaya Vijayji: "Jain Tirthaun No Itihas", p.390. For the text of this inscription see Appendix BBB.

118) Dungarpur ki Khyat, leaves 32-3

119) cf. the grants referred to in Ekling Temple (South Gate) Inscription by the earlier rulers of Mewar Lakhamsen to Raimal.

120) Sanga is said to have given 600 "gras" (Vanshavali 828, leaf 61(a)), Raimal, 30 (ibid, leaf 58(a)), Udai Singh, 15 (Vansha-Vali 872, p.139). 'Gras' is called "Dohali" also (Vanshavali 878, leaf 70(a)). Dr, Gopinath (op. cit., p.193) is decidedly wrong in describing 'gras' as a 'nominal tax' on produce that the state in those days demanded. Man Kavi is quoted by him (ibid, p.193) in support of this view. The piece quoted by him simply refers to Raj Singh's grant of 'gras' to Bhils who joined him.

~~this context.~~

121). cf. Kachhar grant by Kumnga to Godha Goga dated Magasar Krishna 11,1510. V.S.

122). cf Jawada grant by Ratansi to Dave Jog Gegu on Phalgun Krishna 12,1587 V.S.(Chef Commissioner(Udaipur) office Register antry no.105); Sanga's grant to Hardas Soni dated Vishaka Krishana 12,1577 V.S.(CC (Udai) Reg.no.947)

123). cf. Doda Kheda grant by Udai Singh dated Vaishaka Krishna 30,1621 V.S.(CC. (Udai.) Reg.no.372); Dhanwada grant by Sanga dated ~~Jaishtha~~ Jaishtha Krishna 30,1578 V.S.(C.C.(Udai.) Reg.859).

124). cf. Jesoria grant by Sanga on Vaishaka Shukla 15,1575 V.S. (C.C. (Udai.) Reg. no.511): Khidigrant by Sanga dated Jaishth Shukla 15,1569 V.S.(C.C.(Udai.) Reg.no.832); Anagar grant by Udai Singh dated Vaishaka Shukla 15,1603 V.S. (C.C.(Udai.). Reg. no.920)

125). cf. Devathala grant by Udai Singh to Dave Duga dated Maha Krishna 30,1600 V.S.(C.C.(Udai.). Reg.no.1205); Tolasa grant of Udai Singh to Joshi Tara Chand (C.C.(Udai.), Reg.no.1536) dated Vaishaka Krishna 30,1623 V.S.

126). cf. Vijanali grant by Udai Singh to Derasari Shiva dated Poshya Shukla 15,1596 V. . (C.C. (Udai.). Reg.no.948); Mogana grant by Sanga to Lakshmidas on Karitika Shukla 15, 1572 (C.C.(Udai.)., reg.no.979.)

127). See Appendix L.

128). cf. Nadeshama grant by Ratansi to Vyas Rudra on Jaishtha Shukla 1,1585 V.S. (C.C. (Udai.) Reg.no.147)

129). For the text of this copper-plate see Vir Vinod II/55

130).Bithelana grant by Vikramjit to Joshi Harikantha dated Kartika Krishna 12,1592 V.S. (CC (Udai) Reg.no.511)

131).See Appendix E

132) Ekling Temple (south Gate) Inscription, verse 59

133).ibid,post-cript: Vir Vinod I/424

134) See Plate facing p.162 of Motilal Menaria: A Catalogue of MSS in the Library of H.H. the Maharana of Udaipur.

135).Amar Kavya,leaf 30(b).

136). cf.Shatrunjaya Tertha (Palitana) Inscription,Epi.Ind II/47.

137). Architects from Mewar were employed in the construction of Bhima Shah Temple, Abu (Muni Jin Vijay: Prachin Jain Sangraha II/149,item 250)

138) Mandan: Raj Vallabh, XIV/43

139) Amar Kavya,leaves 35(a)-(b).

140) Shatrunjaya Tirtha Inscription,verses 14-5

141). cf. Nensi II/279.

142). Stein, M.A.: Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Raghunath Temple Library of H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir(189 p.329.

143). The Mamadeo Temple Inscription of Kumbha and the Ekling Temple (south Gate) Inscription of Raimal are in Sanskrit. Pandits, adept in Sanskrit,flourished in the court of Raimal (Ekling Temple Inscription, verse 87-94)

144) For the instance of the Dingal in the days of Kumbha see Vir Vinod I/334.

( )

145). Kamsi Ashia had participated in the Battle of Maholi (Kavi Rao: Kavitta Vikramdit aur Udai Singh ra, (Appendix T) verse 31). For some extracts from Suja Balicha ra Kavitta see Appendix ZZ.

146). He was ancestor of Kaviraja Shyamldas, the author of Vir Vinod. For a Kavitta of Mahapa Jaitawat see Vir Vindd I/358.

147). He was a contemporary of Sanga. Tradition attributes him the honour of hepling Sanga out of his self-imposed mourning after the Battle of Kanwah by his couplets. For these pieces see Kanhaiyalal Sahal: Rajasthan ke-Sanskriti ke Upakkhyan, p.108.

148). A tradition current in Mewar says that Rana Sanga offered to give the entire kingdon of Mewar to Haridas on the occasion of festivities celebrating the captivity of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa. However, Haridas tactfully refused(Vir Vinod I/371) For the offer of Sanga to Haridas see Appendix CCC.

149). For the pieces composed by Jaimal on his last day see Appendix DDD.

150). Muni Nyaya Vijayji: Jain Tirthanau Itihas, p.387.

151) Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Vol, 56/I, p.40

152). ibid , Vol 53/II p.179.

153). From the records of the former Badnor estate.

154). One Hadi queen of Rana Mokal participated in the skirmish against the follwwers of Mera and Chacha and killed 5 of

of them before the Rana succumbed (Nensi II/116)

155). See also Nansi I/37

156). See ibid,I/38-9

157) ibid,I/27.

158) This information is supplied by Ashia Savaldanji Charan Kavi a descendant of Ashia Keramsi from Kirat Prakasha by Bakhat Ram Ashia. The villages bestowed upon Karamsi are still enjoyed by his descendants.

159) Nensi I/25.

160) Badava Devidan: Mewar ki-Raniyaun ki Khyat ,leaf 3(a)

161).Vanshavali 872,p.141.

162). Nensi I/83.

163) ibid ,I/202.

164). ibid,II/201.

165) ibid,II/124,170.

166). ibid,II/124

167. ibid,II/134.

168). ibid,II/55.

169). ibid,I/254.

170) ibid,II/124-5,202,285.

171) ibid,II/183

172).ibid I/243,II/189,358.

173) ibid,II/199.

174). ibid ,II/65.

175). ibid, I/27-8,II/207

176). ibid,I/254.

177)ibid, I/226-7.

178). ibid,II/298

179). ibid, II/248.

180) ibid,I/226.

181) ibid,I/223.

182) ibid,I/226.

183) Rathoran ri Khyat,leaf 57(b).

184) cf. Mirat-i Sikandari, p.175.

185). cf. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Tr.Mahdi Hussain),p.22

APPENDICES

APPENDIX SS

'जदी पंच कतराक दुजा सीरदार हा जणा कियो क बाप का मारवाह वाला नै गादी न मिलै जणी उपर जगडो पड्यो सो बरस ४ मास ५ दन ६ गादी सुनी रही '

'मेवाड का इतिहास' आयत २२५

Appendix TT

श्री रामोजयति

श्री गणेसपसदात् श्री एकलिंगप्रसादात्

माला
सही

लाइन १ ।। माहाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री संग्राम
" २ आदशात् रिवा अचला लिष्मीदास राम
" ३ तषोयोतम (परषोतम) गाम मोगाणा माहे हल ६ छह
" ४ री भुइ आघाटे उदके सासने दत । चंद्र प
" ५ वै माहे आघाटे करे दत्ता संवत् १५७२ वेषे
" ६ कातिक शुदि १५ दुव श्रीमुष स्वदत्तं प
" ७ र दत्तं वायो हरतु वसुंधरा षष्टिवेषे स
" ८ श्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रमि ।। लिषा
" ९ तं पंचोली हीसा

लंबाई ७'६ चौडाई ६'३ हाथ की कुटी हुई चद्दर (Commissioner's office (Udaipur) Register entry No. 9797)

APPENDIX UU

लाइन १ ।। माहाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री विक्रमादीत
" २ आदेस्यात् ।। जोसीहरीकंठ योग्यं गामं आने
" ३ ट(आमेटा) माह रहटि ३ तीन रहट हल ४ च्यार वरसाली
" ४ हल २ विदु ढेलाणा मोहे उदकं आघाटि संवति
" ५ १५८९ वर्षे कातीग वदि १२ त्री राणा श्री संग्राम र तला
" ६ व छत्री प्रत्रीष्टा कीधी तीणे सनमंध आघाट दुवे श्री
" ७ मुष प्रति दुए साह माधा ।। सुंदत प्रदंता वाजे हरंति वस
" ८ धरा षष्ट रटि सहश्राण।। विष्टायां जायते क्रम ।। १

चौडाई ८'८ लम्बाई ७०५ हाथ की कुटी चद्दर

श्री रामोजति

श्रीगणसप्रसादातु श्रीएकलिंगप्रसादातु

माला

सही

लाइन १ महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री उदैसाघ ओ

" २ देशातु दवे डूगा केसव नाथा कवरा कस्य आ

" ३ समय काधो गाम देवथटा माहे रहट १ अ

" ४ गणवो वाड्या सुधो सीयाली सुध आधा

" ५ ट उदक कर मया कीधो संवतु १६०० व्र

" ६ षे माह वदी ऽऽ दुओ श्रीमुषे प्रति सेस

" ७ दा हराचंद कस सुरीजग्रहण दत्त आप दतं प्रद

" ८ तं वाजे हरंती वसंधरा षसूवेष सहश्राणी

" ९ जाअैते व क्रमे ।

तांबापत्र चोकोर किन्तु चारों कोने काटकर गोल बना दिये हैं ।
लम्बाई ७'८ 'बीच से ८'३' चौड़ाई ६'९ बीच से ७'२ हाथ से
कुटीहुई चद्दर.

(Commissioner's office (Udaipur) Register Entry No.1205)

APPENDIX WW

श्री रामोजअति

श्री गणेश प्रसादातु श्री एकलगप्रसादत

माला

सही

लाइन १ महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री उवसंघ आदे

" २ स्यातु गम अणधर माहे मदरा माअ रहट १ उद

" ३ क मया काधनाडाला

नोट

यह ताम्बपत्र स्पष्ट नहीं है। इसकी मिती १६०३ वैशाख शुक्ला १५ है ।

(Commissioner's office(Udaipur) Register Ne Entry No.920)

APPENDIX XX श्री रामेजयती

श्री गणसप्रदतु श्री एकलगप्रसदतु

माला

सही

लाइन १ महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री उदै

" २ सीधजी आदेशात जोशी जैकरण

" ३ कस्य धरती बीघा २२०० बावीसे

" ४ राकड पीवल ग्राम समारी माहा आ

" ५ घाट उदक दत्र संवत १६१५ चैत्र

" ६ सुदी १५ चद्र परवणी दव श्रीमुख प्रत

" ७ दव सह खेता खवासे माहा आदत प्र

लाइन ६ ह श्रीणी वषप जाथत लीखतु पचो

" १० ली गोवरधन

लम्बाई ६'८ चौडाई ५'८ हाथ से कूटी हुई चद्दर

(Commissioner's office (Udaipur) Register ,Entry No.1129.)

P.T.O.

परिशिष्ट (~~म~~) ४४

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।। श्री ।।

श्री गणेश प्रसादातु श्री एकलिंग प्रसादातु

सही _ भाला

स्वस्ती श्री वजे कटकरा डेरा सुथाने महाराज धिराज महाराणा श्री प्रताप सिंह जी आदेशातु देलवाडा सुथाने रणा कल्याण सिंघ कस्य सु परशादु लिख्यते यथा अठारा समाचार भला है आपणा समाचार कहावजो _

१ अप्र _ रणा चत्रशाल कल्याण सिंघ जोधपुर सु आया सो आवरा सावरा की नाल म्हें पातशासू झगडो हुवो सो चतर साल रे काका भोपत सिंघ तो काम आया ने चतर साल रे लोह लागा सो घणा दिन पछे काल कीदो _ कल्याणसींघ पकड म्हें गया जठे बोला चाली सु सुफारिश देखाणी जी खुशी सु मया करे देलवाडो बक्यो _ जिलारा पटारा गांव २३१ रेख डोड लाखरी है सो खातरी सु जमीयत करावजो _ पटा रा गाम उतर जावे तो दूजा मिले देलवाडो सदीप साबत रहगा और श्री दरबार को पधारवो श्री एकलिंग जी वे जठे देलवाडा रा पटायती री तरफ सु गोठ नजराणो सदीप सु मुरजाद है सो कीदा जावो अर ईरें एवज गाम ढोल_सायरो कलवाणो पटा सुवायगया कर बक्या सो गोठ नजराणा में तफावत पोडो मती _थारे भतीजा रणा कानींग ने गोगूंदो बक्यो थारे दोई ठिकाणा म्हें _ फोज बराड नालरी कोडी _ पेशकशी लागे है सो माफ है सो सदा बंद पिडयां सूदी नही लागेगा थारा पटा रा गामा म्हे वा देलवाडा में धोस खालसो गेर हिसाब नही आवेगा म्हारा बचन है और नाल मे तथा चीरवा रे घाटे _ जाब्तो राखजो बगाड उजाड वेगा तो थारे पूछयो जावेगा_ यो पटो करदेवाणो सो आगे जाता कोई कसर पाडेगा उथायेगा जीने श्री एकलिंग जीरी आण है श्री महा सत्याजी री आण है परवानगी पंचोली गोरा स्मंवत १६३९ रा वर्षे आसोज सुदी ८ सोमवार

(सूजा बालिया रा कवित करमसी आशिया रा कहिया)

वाजि रीठ नत्रीठ मूंहि धारे आगारे सटमट वेमट धाट धारियामहधारे
कहवा नाले कठि वाढि वरिणा विभाडेत दीपे माडिपल महापूरियो
प्रवाले

दल शेल तणा दुजन शला विभाडे तजि वडवता
वापुलो सूर जीतो विधानो घणा कटका देखता ।।२६।।
ताम करे आमनो राण सरियो रिसाए
कीधा वास लहि ग्रास सूरि मडोवरि जाए
मालि मूज पूजिया लाख दीजे लेखीजे
असहन्ता राउता घणा बुर कामस लाजे
बेठो दुवारी जोधापुरे आधीक वाऊर ओट है।
काबडो शीस कनयागीरे सूरिज मालि नसोस है।।२७।।
रापे वेधा मन्डियो सरिस राणा सुमाणा
जेखल धार उपरे खरा पर ठीजे थाणा
कहे राव कलि मथ सूर हू कटका आगे
ग्राम ग्रास गढ गरत मांगी जीतो गूंह मागे
परमाण सुणे अ प्रमाण गिणि आपाणे तणि आणियो
भाविमो ना किदो मल्लरो सूर कियो मन भाविमो।।३१।।
पाम राण रिझियो सारीया थक आपणे
कडोस ठाकुर कमण जको उपकार न आणे
धार जे आल नाडूल कठे हेकणी ले चाले
उदेसा.....उचतिये तखत दीधा उपाले
पाई गह बन्दी नारदपुरी सिरी बेठो ढलते चवरी
उरि पडे दुमका मल्लरे तिण आवीये मेल अरी।।३५।।

महा जोध वाजिया थीया भागट भुगढयो
काल लोउ कालिज फरक फीकर फर फटे
आध धड होई बडड कडड कन्धियड मरयड
बेहथड खाग झडगडड वज्जे हहि रनड
काढिये भवां राठोड घाइ वहंते त्रिविधि घड
रिणी पाणि सूर सामंत रे किया अरं नऊ करड।।५२।।
पासु वाड धड जाड तेठा पाछाड खडछे
कंश वंश निरदलण कांह किरि गोकलि कच्छे
रिण दूमर भरविहर किया पल खंडे पीजंर
ढिले देत राठोड मोड भाभी मन्डोवर
पोतारी भीर रण पधारे पेड शेल ओरा परे
काढियो अपरि सामन्त रे झेल मरे वीजा खीम मरे।।५३।।

प्राप्ति स्थान: राजस्थान विश्व विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर
वक्ता: आशिया श्री सावल दान जी वारण कवि।

APPENDIX AAA

संवत १५६७ वर्षे फाल्गुण वदि ८ बुधवारे श्री चित्रकूट दुर्गे राजाधिराज श्री वणवीर राज्ये ।।श्री अंचलगच्छे ।। वा० हंगति लकगणि लिखितं ।। श्री आकेस वंशे ।। प्रीमेचा गोत्रे ।।मंत्रीश्वर मारवर ।। भार्या भावलदे ।। पु० मं० सोना । भार्या सोनलदे । पुत्र पं० शीपा । भार्या शीरीयादे। पुत्र मं० सुराकेन ।। लिखापिता भंडार साथे । शुभं भवतु । कल्याणमस्तु ।। '

अन्त्यांश श्री उपासकदशांक सूत्रम्'
अमृतलाल मगनलाल शाह: श्री पैशस्ति संग्रह'
जि.२ पृ० ६६

APPENDIX BBB

संवत xx १४ वर्षे मार्ग शुदि ३ श्री चैत्रपुरीय गच्छे श्री बुडागणि भतूपुर महादुर्ग श्री गुहिलपुत्र
श्री देवी चितौड री मुर्ति.

मूलनारायणजी के मन्दिर 'चितौड' की प्रशस्ति मुनि न्यायविजय विरचित जैन तीर्थोनों इतिहास 'पृ० ३६०

APPENDIX CCC

'मांडव गुजेर ग्रहमुके
'रैणवा दीध चित्रगढ राण'
दिध चित्रकोट कवियां खुमाणा
दिन विद्याई ते रीअ दीधा '

चारण कवि हरिदास : स्व श्री मोतीलालजी श्रोत्रिय के संग्रह से

APPENDIX DDD.

जयमल भज जगदीश को झूठा तजदे फोड
अंत समय मिलसी अवस ,ठीक राख मन ढोड ।। १।।
लाज रखे तो जीव रख,लजवन जीवन रख
सांई तो सु वीनती,दोनु मेला रख ।। २।।
बिना लाज जीवन बुरो,अकबर सु जद आज
राखी जु अब राखजे,प्रभु जयमल की लाज ।। ३ ।।

'ठाकुर गोपालसिंहजी राठोड 'बदनोर के संग्रह से '

CHAPTER XIV

Bibliography.

(I) Original Authorities.

(A) Native sources (a) Manuscripts

1). Amar Kavya (MS No.1661, Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur). Waitten in 1675 A.D. in the day of Rana Raj Singh by Ranachod Bhatt Amar Kavya is a veritable mine of information of the history of Mewar. Three manuscripts of this work are available in Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur. There are several errors in the texts due to ~~serilies~~ scribe's carelessness. Though known to and cursorily used by Kaviraja Shyamaldas and Mahamahopadhya Gauri Shanker Hirachand Oza,this work had the misfortune of being left unstudied for a long time. Dr. Gopinath has misquoted its text and twisted its meaning. Amar Kavya has been used in the present thesis very extensively for the first time. It supplies very reliable information about (1) the conquests of Sanga,(2) the negotiations by Babar on the eve of the battle of Kanwah (3) the rebellion of Jhala Sultan against Banavir and (4) the events concerning the reign of Udai Singh.

2). Bankedan (Kaviraja) ki Aitihasik Vatan (Extracts collected by Thakur Sahib Gopal Singhji, Badanor). It is a collection of historical events,compiled itemwise without chronological sequence by Kaviraja Bankedan, a court poet of Jodhpur in the second half of the XVIII cen. A.D.. In the present thesis it is mainly used for narrating the exploits of Jaimal.

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Bankedan alone gives the number of the Mughal soldiers who died at the hands of the Rajputs in the III Sake of Chittor.

3). Badada Vanshavali by Kalandan(MS in Thikana Badanor). It alone speaks about the overtures of Akbar to Jaimal about the surrender of Chittor to the Mughal which is dividedly incorrect.

4). Chigata ki-Badashahi (Author unknown). Manuscript in Saraswati Bhanadar, Kishangadh. Deals with the Mughal rule in India from the invasion of Babar upto the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. It says that the bullet of Akbar aimed at Jaimal killed a nephew of the latter.

5). Davavat Kumar Sangram Singhji by Charan Bhimji (MS No.478,leaves 1 -83, Sarswati Bhandar,Udaipur). Refers to 1) Pithviraj's killing of Latta Pathan,(2) enchaining of the Sultan by Sanga (3) the character of Udai Singh and (4) the construction of Udaipur. Its colophon gives Sanwat 1967 Asadha Shukla 11 as the time of the copying of this manuscript.

6). Dilli Rajya Vanshavali No.I . Author unknown(MS in Abhai Jin Bhandar ,Bikaner). composed in 1670 V.S. in the reign of Jahangir. The present copy is dated Samvat 1739 Kartika Krishna 3 It gives a wrong impression of an easy conquents of Chittor and Ranthambhor by Akbar.

7). Dilli Rajya Vanshavali No.II: Author unknown (MS in Abhai Jain Bhandar,Bikaner). comes up to the reign of Aurangzeb. It also refers to an easy fall of Chittor and Ranthambhor in the hands of Akbar,which is incorrect.

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Both these Vanshavalis are a glaring example of the flattery resorted to by the Hindu poets in the Mughal court in eulogizing their Muslim partons.

(8) Dungarpur ki Khyat:- Author unknown (MS in Raghuvir Library, Sitamau, Madya Pradesh). It gives an account of the participation of Rawal Udai Singh and his son Jagmal in the Battle of Kanwah.

(9) Hari Bhushan Mahakavyam by Gangaram (Extracts in the collection of Late Shri Motilalji Shrotriya M.A., Udaipur). Written about cir.1653-55 A.D. Refers to the clashes between Surajmal and Prithviraj during the reign of Raimal.

(10) Hari Pingal Prabandha by Yogiraj(In the collection of Ashia Savaldanji Charan Kavi, Udaipur); composed on Chaitra Krishna 11,1725 V.S. It is the only authority which refers to Rawat Bagh Singh's coronation as the "Rana of Chittor" during the Second Saka of Chittor in the days of Vikramjit in contradistinction to the title of the "Rana of Mewar" held by the rulers of Mewar.

(11) Hur Patra. Three were found useful for the thesis in hand, out of which two are in the collection of Shri Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur, and one appended to the manuscript of Raghuvamsha in the collection of Thakur Sahib Gopal Singhji of Thikana Badnor. The one in Badnor gives the date of the assassination of Rao Ranmal by Rana Kumbha in Mewar. Those with Shri Nathulalji Vyas, one of them gives the date of the reconquest of Chittor by Rana Vikramjit from the forces of Gujarat and the other gives a hint about the loss suffered by the Devadas in the construction of Udai Sagar by Udai Singh. For Hur Patras see Tiwari: "Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi", IHQ XXX/4,n.25.

12) Kavitta Raja Rana Ajja rai Author unknown. In the collection of Rajasthan Vishwa Vidyapith,Udaipur. It is found compiled in an old manuscript in which the last dated entry was is wrongly believed to have been made in 1719 V.S.(1652A.D.). (The inclusion of the Kavitta of Kavi Rao has in this manuscript is by itself a proof of its being compiled upon the third quarter of the seventeenth century A.D.). ~~(1652 A.D.~~ This Kavita is the only authority encountered by the writer of this thesis which evidences for (i) the fainting of Sanga by the wound received in the battle of Kanwah,which (ii) caused consternation in the Rajput ranks . So(iii) the nobles requested Raja Rana Ajja,after deliberations, to assume all the perapherналia of Royalty,which (iv) Ajja did and (v) died fighting with all the marks of royalty on his person.

13). Kavitta Rana Sanga ra by Kavi Rao. In the collection of Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur. Found compiled in the above referred to old manuscript.One Kavi Rao flourished in the days of Rana Jai Singh as a copy of Kavittas in a manuscript in Pratap Sabha,Udaipur, gives some Kivittas of Kavi Rao on Rana Jai Singh. However as is evident Kavi Rao can be the ~~little~~ title and not the name of any person. So several persons with this litte might have written eulogies of their patrons in Kavittas. However, none can deny the possibility of one kavi Rao writing in the reign of Jai singh about the rulers of Mewar from Sanga onwards.It is the only authority, apart from Amar Kavya and the Khyats,which throws some light upon the reign of Rana Sanga. And again,these Kavittas alone refer to the (i) battle between Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Sanga,(ii) gives the date and the method

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of the conquest of Ranthambhor by Sanga and (iii) also hints at the circumstances leading to the surrender of the fort of Kandhar by Hasan to Sanga.

14). Kavitta (Rawat) Patta Jaggawat ra : author unknown. Supplied by Thakur Sahib Kanaiya Singhji Bhati,Kali Sindh. He has vouched for the antiquity of this piece. It is in the form of a dialogue between the forts of Chittor and Ranthambhor. The fort of Chittor praises Patta Chundawat for his noble sacrific and puts to shame the fort of Ranthambhor which, Surjn surrendered meekly to the Mughals.

15).Kavitta Rao Jaimal Ra. by Ratanu Isar. In the collection of Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur. Compiled in the manuscripts referred to above. Ratanu Isar gives a detailed poetic account,not necessarily historically invalid as its corroboration by Bankedan shows,of the siege of Chittor by Akbar and its attendant iii Saka.

16). Khuman Rasa. by Dalpat Vijay(No.258/A-1882-83, Government Library of Manuscripts, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) It is the only authority which (i) gives the cause of the battle of Bakarol between Rana Sanga and Sher Khan Farmuli and asserts that (ii) the chief cause of the clash between Rana Ratansi and Rao Surajmal Hada lay in the airs of independence arrogated by the latter. It also hints at some influence of the Qazis being at work to induce Akbar to attack Chittor.

16) Mahi Nadi ka Yuddha by Mehe Vithu. In the collection of Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur. It is the only authority which gives the cause and the details of the battle

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on the bank of R.Mahi which is twice hinted at but nowhere described by Nensi.

17). Mewar ke.Banaun ki Pidhiyaun ki.Khyat : author unknown. In the collection of Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur. This manuscript is damaged to the tune of 2 inches towards its bottom. However, its another copy Vanshawali No.867 in Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur,makes up this loss. It gives very valuable information about(1) the reign of Sanga,(2) the war between Udai Singh and Banavir and (3) the campaign which Udai Singh had to send to bring the Girwa Reion under his control. And again,this authority holds that the refusal of Udai Singh to surrender Jaimal was one of the cause of war between Udai Singh and Akbar.

18).Mewar Ki Raniyaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat by Badawa Devidan. In the collection of Shri Nathulalji Vyas,Udaipur. It gives the names of the wives of the Ranas of Mewar along with the name of their fathers and male issues. Sometimes some stray information about the deeds of these ladies is also given,e.g., Bhatiyani Dhir Kumar, a wife of Udai Singh built Bhatiyani Bazzar in Udaipur.

19).Muta Nensi ki khyat by Muhnot Nensi(MS No.701 Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur) For its introduction see the prefaces written by M.M.Oza to the two volumes of the translation of this book by Ram Narayan Duggad. In the original text the number of Sisodia soldiers(5-7,000 strong) who wrested the fort of Chittor from the Gujarati garrison is given which is not to be found in the translation.

20) Rai Prakash by Kishor Das (MS 355 in Saraswati

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Bhandar,Udaipur) .This authority corrohorates the account of Amar Kavya that Sanga beat his drums furiously at Sikari in challenge to Baber. It further adds that it was Udai Singh who granted safe conduct to Banavir out of the fort of Chittor.

21).Rai Ratanankar by Dhundhiraj(MS No.907, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur). This Sanskrit work composed in the reign of Rana Raj Singh wrongly holds that Mahmud Khilji was captured seven times by Sanga in the battle fields and each time released.

22).Rampura ki-Khyat: Author unknown(Manuscript with Shri Shankarlalji Oza,Retired Vasual Baki Navis Rampura). It says that Rao Achal Karan a vassal of Mewar had under his control territories very near to the fort of Mandu, a fact which proves that Sanga had a large portion of Malwa under his control.

23).Rana Rasa by Dayaldas (MS No.968,Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur) It says that Sanga released Sultan(?) seven times after taking him captive in the battlefield. It is the only authority which gives information about(1) the plight of the Mughals in Mewar,(ii) the army of Akbar which comprised of the warriors from all the corners of India and (iii) the cutting of the way by Udai Singh through the Mughal ranks at the request of his ministers. It also informs us that the family enmity between the Chagtais and the Sisodia was also one of the cause of the invasion of Mewar by Akbar.

24). Rathodan ri Vanshavali by Dadhi Khaj Baksha (MS No.695,leaves 23.28, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur).It gives the geneology with the names of the wives of the rulers of Mewar.

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25).Rathod Vanshavali: Author unknown(MS No.695 leaves 22(b)-23(a), Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur.) . It gives a poem on Maldeo wherein it is stated that Maldeo crushed the head of the Bana(who might be possibily Udai Singh).

26) Rathodan ri Vanshavali ri Khyat : Author unknown (MS No.884 in three volumes, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur) It gives information about(1) the fidelity of Suja Balicha to Mewar,(ii) the conspiracy of Ram Singh against Maldeo and his asylum in Mewar, (iii) the Battle of Harmada, and (iv) the help rendered by Rao Ganga in Sanga's invasion of Gujarat.

27).Rawal Rana ki Vat. Author unknown(MS No.876, Sataswati Bhandar,Udaipur). It is a veritable mine of historical information about(i) the exploits of Prithviraj, (ii) the complicity of Ratansi and Parmar Karamchand in the poisoning of Sanga,(iii) the circumstances attending the deaths of Ratansi and Surajmal, (iv) the anarchy in the reign of Vikramajit,(v) the Battle of Jiran between Bahadur Shah and Vikramajit,(vi) the II Saka of Chittor, (vii) the comspiracy of the nobles to assassinate Vikramajit,(viii) the itinerary of Panna from Chittor to Kumbhalner,(ix) the life of Udai Singh at Kumbhalner,(x) the struggle between Banavir and Udai singh ,etc, Surprisingly, this authority is silent on the reigns of Sanga and Udai Singh. As it is a 'Vat' i.e. a collection of tradition many times we find much distorted version of historical events, e.g. the negotiations of Vikramajit with Babar are misrepresented as sending of 'Rakhi' by Karmeti to Humayun, the Mughal aid to Vikramajit in the recapture of Chittor from the Gujaratis as coming of Humayun to Chittor and the

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participation of Humayun in the coronation of Vikramjit,etc.,

28). Sardul Parmat ka Yuddha by Jada Mehadu(MS in the collection of Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith,Udaipur). Jada Mehadu was a contemporary of Akbar and held fief in Jahajpur. The events relating to the II and III Sakas of Chittor are referred to here. This manuscript helps in the identification of Parmars who died in these Sakas.

29). Suja Balicha Charitra by Karamsi Asia(MS in the collection of Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur). Karamsi Asia was a contemporary of Udai Singh and had come to Mewar as a part of the dowry received from Akheraj Sonigara by Udai Singh at the latter's express request . The piece in question refers to the exploits of Suja Balicha against Maldeo e in Nadol on behalf of Udai Singh.

30) Surjan Charitra by Kavi Chandra Shekhar(Ms in the collection of Dr. Dasharath Sharma,Delhi. Also edited by Dr. J.B. Chaudhuri,Calcutta). Chandra Shekhara was a court-poet of Surjan Hada of Bundi. This authority clearly states that all the conquests of Surajan were made with the help of Rana Udai Singh.

(31)Rajavali: Author unknown(MS in the collection of Asia Shri Savaldanji Charan Kavi). It gives a good account of the last days of Sanga and also exempts Rawal Khan from all blame about his participation in the conspiracy to assassinate Vikramajit . This Khyat is useful in several ways and had been unknown to the historians so far . For the first time it is used in this thesis.

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32). Thikana Badanor ke Rani Mango ki Khyat . The account of the life of Rao Jaimal was copied from this Khyat by Thakur Sahib Kanhaiya Singhji Bhati by the courtesy of Rani Manga Shri Ambalalji, village Lachhuda,P.O. Daulat Gadh,Distt. Bhilwara, sepecially forthis thesis.

33). Vanshavali Sisodiyari by Dhadhawada Kanirам (MS No.207, SaraswatiBhandar,Udaipur); comes upto Bhim Singh. It says that Sanga established his borders at Pilia Khal. It is silent about Ratansi ,Vikramajit and Banavir. About Udai Singh it says that many rulers stood with folded hands before him and that his treasury was full.

34). Vansbavali (also called in the manuscript as Suryavanshavali) : Author unknown (MS No.607 Saraswati Bhandar Udaipur);gives barely the names of the Ranas of Mewar. It does not mention the name of Banavir as the ruler of Mewar between Vikramajit; comes upto Raj Singh and in a different hand the word ' Jaisa Rana' is written.

35) Vanshavali(MS No.788, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur). Author unknown. It gives the names of the important rulers of Mewar. After Sanga it straight away mentions Udai Singh. All the intervening ~~xxx~~ rulers are dropped. For Sanga its ~~xxxxx~~ says that he left the fort of Chittor. Similarly, it refers only to Udai Singh's construction of Udai ~~Singh~~ Sagar . This is all. Between Udai Singh and Sangram Singh II only 5 rulers are mentioned. The son of Sangram Singh II,Jagat Singh is mentioned as a prince.

36). Vanshavali(also called Surajvansha). Author unknown. (MS No.827,Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur). Comes upto Raj Singh. In some other's hand the account of the later rulers upto Arsi is

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added . It says that 18 days after his succession Sanga defeated Sher Khan. ~~In~~ It further adds that one year after the battle of Kanwah, Sanga attacked Chanderi. It gives the period of the reign of each ruler, the strength of his army, the number of his wives and concubines and his charities. The reign of Banavir is not separately mentioned, According to this authority Udai Singh was off to Kumbhalmer at the time of the assassination of Vikramajit by Dakhani, the brother-in-law of Banavir,in spite of the protests of the latter, i.e. Banavir.

37). Vanshavali Adi Param Shiva thi: Author unknown. (MS No.829, Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur).Gives the cause of the poisoning of Sanga as the dissatisfaction of the nobles due to his insistence to pursue Babar in the east. Gives the military strength the duration of the reign, the numbers of wives and concubines and the charities of each ruler. The battle of Bakarol is mentioned. It also says that Vikramajit was assassinating in spite of the forbiddings of Banavir though the name of the regicide is not given. The reign of Banavir is not separately mentioned. Its narrative comes upto Jawan Singh.

38). Vanshavali (also called Sisoda Vamsha): Author unknown(MS No.867, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur) . Comes upto Maharana Sambhu Singh. Its text is the same as that of Mewar ke Ranaun ki Pidhiyaun ki Khyat, the manuscript of which lies in Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur. It supplements the text of the latter which is damaged towards its lower end.

39). Vanshavali : Author unknown(MS No.872, Saraswati Bhanadar,Udaipur).Besides the duration of the reign of each ruler,his army,the number of his wives and concubines and charities,this authority gives the name of the mother of Banavir as Phulde and informs us that Karmeti died in the II Saka of Chittor, fighting the enemy. About the battle of Bakarel it

simply says that it took immediately after the accession of Sanga but does not specify the days which lapsed between the two events. The rule of Banavir is not mentioned.

40). Vanshavali Adi Brahma thi: Author unknown (MS No.878, Saraswati Bhanadar,Udaipur). It repeats the matter given in Vanshavali 827 but adds to it the account of the reign of Ranas from Jai Singh to Bhim Singh. This is a clear proof of the fact that once this vanshavali ended with the reign of Raj Singh and later on some portion was added to bring it upto Bhim Singh. However, upto the reign of Shambhu Singh,when Kavi Raja Shyamaldas collected the Khyats of Mewar and got them copied for Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur,one copy of this Vanshavali gave an account of the Ranas of Mewar upto Raj Singh only.

41). Vanshavali(also called as Mewar ka Itihas): Author unknown (MS.No.882, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur); comes upto Sajjan Singh. It says that Sanga fixed his borders at Pilia Khal. It mostly gives the duration of the reign of the rulers.

42).Vanshavali(called Surya Vansha): Author unknown (MS No.1115, Saraswati Bhandar,Udaipur).It gives the duration of the reign of each ruler, his army,his charities and his wives and concubines. The rule of Banavir is not mentioned.

43). Vanshavali Sonigaran ri : Author unknown(MS with Shri Swaruplalji Vaidya,Jagadish-chawk,Udaipur).It barely gives the geneology of the Sonigaras.(For Khyats alias Vanshavalis critical estimate as a historical literature see Tiwari: Some undetermined dated of Mewar(Journal of the University of Poona, 1955,pp 90.91)

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44). Vikramajit our Udai Singh ra Kavitta by kavi Rao [illegible] (MS in the collection of Rajasthan Viswa Vidyapith,Udaipur). It gives (i) the names of the commandants of different forts as appointed by Sanga,(ii) the confusion in Mewar during the reign of Vikramajit,which(iii) offered a welcome apportunity to Bahadur Shah to attack Mewar;(iv) The battle of Jiran,(v) the names of the nobles of Mewar who fled the battlefield,(vi) the death of Karmeti while fighting the ebemy,(vii) the conspiracy to murder Vikramajit, (viii) Udai Singh's safe arrival at Kumbhalgadh, (ix) the battle of Maholi, and (x) the coronation of Udai Singh in Chittor ~~are also given~~. Three stanzas of this piece, not found in the Vidyapith manuscript are found in the collection of late Shri Motilalji Shistriya,Udaipur. They describe the seene of the battle of Maholi.

(b). Printed

1).Chhanda Rao Jetsi Ro Vithu Suje Ra Kahiya (edited by Tessitori, Punj. Bibletheca Indica, No.1434 New Series)

2).Holi Renuka Charitai Extract published in Jain Granth Prashasti Sangraha, Edited by Jugal Kishor Mukhtyar.

3).Muhnot Nensi ki Khyat(edited by Ram Narayan Duggad. Punj. Nagari Pracharini Patrika ,Kasi)

4).Rai Vilas by Man Kavi "(edited by Lala Bhagawandin. Punj. Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Kasi)

5).Rai Vinod Mahakavya by Udai Raj(edited by Gopal Narayan Bohara Punj. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute Jaipur).

B).Pessian Sources

a).Published

P.T.O.

(1) Ain-i Akabari by Abul Fazl, Vol.I(Blochman Tr.)

(2) Ain-i Akbari by Abul Fazl Vol.II(Jarrett Tr.)

(3) Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl (Beveridge Tr.)

(4) Akbar Nama by Faizi Sirhindi (Elliot and Dowson, Vol.VI)

(5) Humayun Nama by Gulbadan Begam (Beveridge Tr.)

(6) Humayun Nama by Khwandmir (Elliot and Dowson: Susil Gupta edi.)

(7) Maasir-ul Umara by Shah Nawaz Khan and Abdul Haqq (Beveridge Tr.)

(8) Makhzen Afgani by Neamet Ullah (Dorn Tr.)

(9) Mirat-i Ahmadi by Ali Muhammad Khan (Bird Tr.)

(10) Mirat-i Sikandari by Sikandar (Faridi Tr.)

(11) Mirat-i Sikandari by Sikandar (Baeley Tr.)

(12) Muntakhabut Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Vol.I (Ranking Tr.)

(13) Muntakhabut Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Vol.II (Lowe Tr.)

(14) Muzaffar Shahi by Malali (Gujarati Translation by Nadavi and Naik)

(15) Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Hussain Tr,)

(16) Tabkat-i Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad, Vols. I-III (De Tr.)

(17) Tarikh-i Alafi by Maulana Ahmad (Elliot and Dowson,Vol.V)

(18) Tarikh-i Daudi (Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV)

(19) Tarikh-i Farishta by Farishta (Briggs Tr.)

(20) Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi by Niamatulla (Elliot and Dowson,Vol.V)

(21) Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi by Yahiya Sirhindi (Basu Tr.)

(22) Tarikh-i Rashidi by Haider Mirza (Elias and Ross Tr.)

(23) Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afgana by Ahmad Yadgar (Elliot and Dowson, Vol.V).

(24) Tarikh-i Sher Shahi by Abbas Khan (Elliot and Dowson: Susil Gupta edi.)

P.T.O.

22).Tezakiratul Wakiyat by Jaffhar(Maj.Charles Stewart Tr.)

23).Tuzuk-i- Babari by Emperor Babar(Beveridge Tr.)

23a).Tuzuk-i Babari by Emperor Babar (Leyden and Etskine Tr.)

24) Tuzuk-i Jahangiri by Empreror Jahangir (Lowe Tr.) Vol.I

25).Wakiyat-i Mushtaqi by Sheikh Rizkulla Mushtaqi (Elliot and Dowson,Vol IV)

26).Zafar ul-waliah bi Muzaffar by Qasim (alias the Arabic History of Gujarat, edi.Ross)

~~xvi~~.

II Inscriptions

(A) Stone Inscription:

1) Achaleswara Temple Inscription,Abu.

2).Biana Inscription of Kamran.

3).Chirwa Inscription.

4). Ekling temple (south Gate Inscription)

5)Ganesh Bavadi Inscription, Toda Rai Singh

6).Ganesh Statue Inscription,Victoria Hall Museum,Udaipur

7).Gantameswara Inscription,near Pratapgadh.

8).Jagannathrai temple Inscription,Udaipur

9).Mahavir Swami Temple Inscription,Chittor

10). Mamadeo Temple Inscription ,Kumbhalgadh

11).Mandasaur Inscription of Rana Sanga.

12).Mulnarayanji Temple Inscription,Chittor.

13).Nanakswami Temple Inscription,Aitpur.

14).Pithu shah ki Bavari Inscription,Rampura.

15).Raj Prasharti Maha Kavya,Raj Samudra.

16).Rampol Gate Inscription of Banavir (3 in number)

17).Rampur Jain Temple Inscription

18).Rawat Bhana cenetoph Inscription,Jiran

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19).Rupanaranji Temple Inscriptions, Savantri(3 in number)

20).Samidhesevara Mahadeo Temple Inscription,Chittor.

21).Sarwaneswara temple Inscription,Udaipur

22).Sringi Rishi Inscription.

23).Shatrunjaya temple Inscriptions ,Palitana.

(B) COPPER PLATES.

a). Copper-plates in the collection of the Chief Commissioner's Office,Udaipur.

1).Chambala grant by Sanga to Bhata Duga dated Oct.17,1512 A.D. (Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.971)

2).Mogana grant by Sanga to Lakshmidas dated Oct,22,1515 A.D. (Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.978)

3).Kahari grant by Sanga to Trivedi Hardas dated April 4,1521 A.D (Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.1345)

4).Bilaya grant to Katiya Vithal dated April 29,1523 A.D. (Chief Commissioner's Reg.1399)

5).Jegu grant by Ratansi to Dube Naga dated Feb.14,1531.A.D. (Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.356)

6).Thilana grant by Vikramajit to Hari Kantha Moshi dated Oct.25,1532. A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.511)

7).Basa Khesar grant by Udai Singh to Sana Jogi dated Oct.18, 1537 A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg.1039)

8).Vijanali grant by Udai Singh to Derashari Shiva dated December 25,1539 A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.948)

9).Desthata grant by Udai Singh to Duhe Duga dated Jan.24,1544 (Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.1205)

10) Anadhar grant by Udai Singh to (indistinct) dated May 4,1547 A.D.(Chief Commissioner Reg.No.920)

(11) Samari grant by Udai Singh to Joshi Jekaran dated March 23,1559 A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg.No.1129)

(12) Madaram grant by Udai Singh to Sevaka Rupa dated March 9,1565 A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg. No.914)

(13) Tolasa grant by Udai Singh to Tarachand Parik dated April 9,1567 A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg. No.1536)

(14).Mosesa grant by Udai Singh to Joshi Shiva dated August 26,1569 A.D.(Chief Commissioner's Reg. No.680)

(B) Copper plates recorded in the Chief Commissioner's Office,Udaipur

S.No.	Entry No. in the Reg.	Details
1.	13	Udai Singh's grant of 25 bighas to Manga Nuna in Adana,1565 A.D.
2.	45	Sanga's grant in Sarthala to Brahman Purba dated June 21,1509 A.D.
3.	105.	Ratansi's grant of Javada to Dube Jaga Gegu Feb.14,1531 A D.
3a.	147	Ratansi's grant in Nadesama to Vyas Rudre on the death anniversary of Dhan Bai Rathor.
4.	372.	Udai Singh's grant in Dodakheda dated March 31,1565 A.D.
5.	392.	Udai Singh's grant in Badada dated April 26, 1566 A.D.

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6.	427	Sanga's grant in Bambora dated April 30,1518 A.D
7.	455.	Udai Singh grant in Saviya Kheta dated April 2,1565 A.D.
8.	460.	Vikramajit's grant of 45 bighas to Vyas Dulha dated May 26,1532 A.D.
9.	510	Udai Singh's grant in Mewas dated Nov.10,1564A.D
10.	551.	Sanga's grant in Jasoria dated April 14,1519A.D.
11.	558.	Udai Singh's grant in Satola dated Oct 8,1551 A.
12.	832	Sanga's grant to Vyas Gangaram in Khidi dated May 19,1513 A.D.
13.	832	Udai Singh's grant in Khidi dated
14.	833	Udai Singh's grant in Grwaradi dated Maha Krishana 5,1611 V.S.
15.	859	Sanga grant in Dhanwada dated Jaishtha Krishana 30,1578 V.S.
16.	902	Sanga's grant of Dovani Sivani on Sept.14,1511 A
17.	917	Ratansi's grant of Kharasana to Minaria Kamala dated Chaitra Krishana 7,1587 V.S.
18.	920	Udai Singh's grant of Anagar on May 4, 1547 A.D.
19.	926	Sanga's grant of Mehna Punia to Bhat Vidyadhar dated May 30,1527 A.D.
20.	934.	Udai Singh's grant of Kalval to Joshi Khema dated Nov.2,1556 A.D.
21.	958	Ranansi's grant of Kharsan on March 10,1531 A.D.
22.	1002	Raimal's grant of 300 bighas in kherada to Joshi Shiv Shankar dated Nov.7,1475 A.D.
23.	~~1088~~ 1032.	Udai Singh grant of 51 bighas in Mandor to Bal Kishan Gurjat Gaud dated March 31,1565 A.D.

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24	1008	Raimal's grant of 51 bighas in Nagana to Shivadas Tirwadi dated Jan.30,1496 A.D.
25.	1039.	Udai Singh's grant of Khisar to (indistrict) dated Oct.18,1537 A.D.
26.	1080	Udai Singh's grant of 125 bighas to Bhojak Jasaraj on Jan,13,1557 A .D.
27.	1129.	Udai Singh's grant of 2100 bighas to Joshi Jaikaran in Bhemali dated April 10,1560 A.D .
28.	1151	Udai Singh's grant of Tadeda to Nagada Brahman Kodar dated Jan.25,1511 A.D.
29.	1255	Udai Singh's grant of 51 bighas to Dayama Brahman Lapan dated April,2,1565 A.D.
30.	1354	Udai Singh's grant of Migawada to Thakar Mala dated Oct.7,1542 A.D.
31.	1359	Udai Singh's grant to Tarachand dated Dec.23, 1564 A.D.
32.	1395	Sanga's grant dated April 4,1521 A.D.
33.	1420	Udai Singh's grant of 91 bighas in Bhatali dated Feb.18,1566 A.D.
34.	1435	Sanga's grant of Datola dated April14,1519 A.D.
35.	1457	Udai Singh's grant dated April,21,1566 A.D.
36.	1470	Sanga's grant dated Sept.17,1515 A.D.
37.	1504	Udai Singh's grant of 51 bighas to Dayama Parasaram in Bhojara dated April 19,1566 A.D.
38.	1574	Udai Singh's grant of 35 bighas to Khandelwal Balkishan in Sagaraw dated April 2,1565 A.D .
39.	1583.	Udai Singh's grant of 15 bighas to Kaniram sukhapal in Udekheda dated March,31,1565 A.D.

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40 1592 Udai Singh's grant of 51 bighas to Bajram Khanelwal in Badodara dated April 26,1566 A.D.

41 1629 Udai Singh's grant of 175 bighas to Damodar Pokara in Chhagina dated April 2,1565 A.D.

42. 1690 Udai Singh's grant of 7 bighas to Choisa Parasaram in Karaju dated April 19,1566 A.D.

43 1710 Udai Singh's grant of 75 bighas to Mangu in Milasa dated August 13,1564 A.D.

44 1719 Sanga's grant dated Vaishaka Shukla 15,1575 V.S.

45 1736 Udai Singh's grant of 112 bighas to Bhopa Sawai dated Bhadrapada Shukla 8,1621 V.S.

46 1737 Udai Singh's grant of 331 bighas to Surajnath in Satola dated Asoja dated Oct 8,1551 A.D.

(C) Copper plates in the collection of Rajastnan Vishwa Vidyanith, Udaipur

S.No.	Date	Details
1.	Vaishaka Krishna 30,1551 V.S.	Raimal's grant of Bedhunbi to Bhat Bhaskar
2.A	Asoj Krishana 12, 1594 V.S.	Banavir's grant of Talakheda to Bohara Kheta Joshi (on the word Banavir someone has inscribed Vikramajit)

B.

(D) Copper plates in the collection of private individuals

S.No.	Date	Details	Name of the person with whom found
1.	Asoja Krishna 8, 1568 V.S.	Sanga's grant of Dovani Sovani on the Asoji Shraddha of Raimal	Pt. Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur.

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2.	Vaishtha Shukla 1,1597 V.S.	Udai Singh's grant of Kambod to Thakar Gaga Vagha on the anniversary of Sanga	Shri Shiv Narayanhji Sharma,Udaipur.
3.	Phalgun Krishna 2,1597 V.S.	Udai Singh's grant of land in Nadol to Thakar Gaga Vagha	Shri Shiv Narayanji Udaipur
4.	Bhadrapada Shukla 15,1616 V.S.	Udai Singh's grant of land to Joshi Chanda Shiva	Pt. Nathulalji Vyas Udaipur
5.	Jaishtha Shukla 12, 1582 V.S.	Sanga's grant of Ghosundi to Bhatt Komal Venidas.	Shri Manohar Shyam Sundarji Vaidy Indore
6.	Ashoi Krishna 7, 1645 V.S.	Pratap's grant of land to Anand Nath in Bandhan Sindari (in the former Kishangadh State)	Obtained by the courtery of Shri Radha Kishanji Joshi Kishangadh

III SECONDARY SOURCES ULILIZING ORIGINAL MATERIAL

(A) MANUSCRIPTS.

1).Kirat Prakash by Bakhat Ram Asia (MS in the collection of Asia Savaldanji Charan Kavi). Written in the days of Rana Shambhu Singh.

(B) PUBLISHED BOOKS

1).Annals and Autiquities of Rajasthan by Col James Tod.

2).Banswada ka Itihas by M.M.G.H.Oza

3).Bikaner Rajya ka Itihas by M.M.G.H.Oza.

4).Dungarpur ka Itihas by "

5).Khavalbal Banavir by Munshi Devi Prashad.

6).Jodhpur Rajya ka Itihas by M.M.G.H.Oza

7).Maharana Ratan Singhji by Munshi Devi Prashad

8).Maharana Sangram Singhji by "

P.T.O.

9).Maharana Udai Singhji by Munshi Devi Prashad

10).Nibandha Sangrahe by M.M.G.H.Oza.

11).Pratapgadh Rajya ka Itihas by M.M.G.H.Oza

12).Rajputana ka Itihas by Jagdish Singh Guhlot

13).Religious Policy of the Mugal Emperor by Shri Ram Sharma

14).Sirohi Rajya ka Itihas by M.M.G.H.Oza.

15)Travels through Western India by Tod

16).Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas by M.M.G.H.Oza.

17).Vansha Bhaskar by Kavitaja Surajmal

18).Vir Vinod by Kaviraja M.M.Shyamaldas.

IV ACCOUNT OF THE FOREIGN TRAVELLERS.

1).Bernier's Travels

2).Early Travely in Indda , edited by William Foster.

3).History of Great Mogal by De Lact(Tr Holland and Benerji)

4).Storia Do Mogor by Niccolas Mannucci (Irwine Tr.)

5).Travels in India by Sir Thomas Ro and Dr. Fryer.

V OTHER WORKS.

1).A History of the Great Moghuls by Pingley Kennedy

2).Akbar,the Great Mogul by Vincent Smith.

3).A History of Great Moghuls by Dr. Richard Van Garhe.

4) An Empire builder in the Sixteenth Century by Prof.Rushbrook Williams.

5). Babar by Thakut Shyam Kumar Varma.

6).Cambridge History of India,edited by Sir Wolslley,Haig,Vol III and IV.

7).Chaturkul Charitra by Thakut Chatur Singhji of Rupaheli.

8).Chittor and the Mewar Family by Dr. J.P.Stratton.

9).Currencies of Rajputana by William Wilfred Webb

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10).Emperor Akbar by Van Noor(Beveridge Tr.)

11).Emperor Babar by Stanley Lane Poole

12).Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors by V.Rem

13).History of Gujrat by Commissarait.

14).History of India by Elphistone (Fourth Edition)

15).History of India (under Babar and Humayun) by Mr Erskine

16).Humayun by Dr. Ishwari Prashad.

16a Islamic Polity by Dr.P.N Sarma

17). Jaimal Vansha Prakasha by Thakur Gopal Singhji Rathor

18).Jain Tirthan No Itihas by Muni Nyaya Vijayaji

19)Madhyakalim Bharat ka Itihas by Satyanarayan Dube.

20). Maharana Pratap by Prin Shri Ram Sharma.

21).Maharana Sanga by Ram Narayan Dugged.

22)Maharana Sanga by Hartilas Sarda.

23).Mewar ka Itihas by Ram Narayan Duggad.

24).Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas by Purohit Deonath.

25).Mewar and the Mughal Emperors by Dr. Gopinath Sharma.

26). Mughal Rule in India by Edward and Garrett.

27).Rajput Studies by Dr.A.C.Banerji.

28).Rhymes of Rajputana by G.H.Trevor.

29).Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire by Dr. R.P.Tripathi.

30).Sher Shah by Kaliniranjan Qanungo.

31).Sher Shah by Zulfiqar Ali Khan.

32). Sher Shah and his successors by Dr.A.L.Shrivastava.

33).Some aspects of the Muslim Administration in India, by Dr. R.P.Tripathi.

34).The Mughal Empire by S.N.Zaffar.

35).The Mughal India by Dr. A.L.Shrivastava.

36).The Successors of Sher Shah by Nirod Bhushan Roy.

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VI COMPILATIONS

1).A catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of H.H. the Maharana of Udaipur by M.L.Minaria.

2). A descriptive catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars of Patan by C.D. Dalal, Vols I and II.

3). Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana by L.P.Tessitori (Relevant issues of the Bibliotheca Indica)

4),Bihliography of Mughal India by Pt. Shri Ram Sharma.

5).Catologue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library of H.H.the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir M.A.Stein.

6).Descriptive Catalogue of the Jain MSS in Bhandarkar Oriental Institute by Dr.Kapadia.

7).Jai Dhatu Pratima Sangraha by Buddhi Sagarji VOL I.

8).Jain Granth Prashasti Sangraha by Jugal Kishor Mukhtiyar.

9).Prachin Lekh Sangraha by Muni Jin Vijayji, Vols I and II.

10). Prashasti Sangraha by Bhuj Bali Shastri.

11).Sanskrit MSS in the Library of Maharaja Bikaner by R.Mitra.

12) Shri Prashasti Sangraha by Amritlal Maganlal Shah.

13.

VII Reference Books.

1).Imperial Gazetteer.

2).Rajputana Gazetteer.

3).Topographical maps of the Survey Department of the Govt. of India.

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XI.

VIII Journals.

1).Epigraphia Indica, Vol.II.

2).Indian Autiquary ,Vol LIX . LIX.

3).Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XXX.

4),Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society Vol.XXIII.

5).Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,Bombay,Vols.XVI, XVIII

6).Nagari Pracharini Patrika Vols III , CIII.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS.

1).Collection of late Shri Motilalji Shrotriya M.A.,Udaipur

(a).Collection of Songs.

(b).Collection of Horoscopes.

(c).Collection of a Khyat,forming a part of a manuscript

2).A copy of the copper plate letter of Rana Lakha to Chunda (from the collection of Rajadhiraj Amar Singhji of Kareda)

3).A letter from Rawat Chaturbhujdasji Chaturvedi,Curator State Museum, Bharatpur, about the platform on an adjorning hill near Fatehpur Sikari,Wherefrom Sanga watched the progress of the battle of Kanwah.

4).Letter of Dr. D.C.Sarkar to Arya R.C.G.Tiwari about the the absence of any two-sovereign inscriptions in India.

5).Papers in the collection of Thakur Sahib Gopal Singhji Rathor of Badnor. The information about the life of Mira , her donation of land to Gajodhar Pandit and the active participation of Phul Kumar Rathod,sister of Rao Jaimal and and wife of Rawat Patta in the last battle after the Jauhar

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by the ladies of Chittor in 1568 A.D. is obtained from this source. The names of the followers of Jaimal who fell in the III Saka of Chittor are also obtained from these records.

6).Proceedings of the India History congress, Allahabad.

परिशिष्ट (~~[illegible]~~) EEE

राजावली

(श्री सावल दान जी आशिया चारण कवि के संग्रह से प्राप्त ख्यात)

म्हाराणा श्री रायमल जी गोड कनकावती बाई रा बेटा वास कुम्भलमेर सम्वत् १५३० राज बेठा सेन संख्या अस्वार ५८००० पारक १००००० हस्ती ४०० बाजी १०० राजा ३ राव ५ रावत ४ सेवा कूता आप ईडर थी आवरे ऊदा कुवर ने काडे कुंभलमेर ऊपरे राज बेठे। दान संख्या ------- बरस ३५ मास १ दिन २ राज कीदो

म्हाराणा श्री सागोजी रातना वती बाई झालीरा बेटा वास चीत्रकोठ सम्बत् १५६५ राज बेठा अस्वार १८,०००० पाखेक २,००००० हस्ती ७००० बाजत्री ३०० राजा ५४ रावत ३५ राव ६४ सेस कूता पातसाह रा बोलरी अपेपटी परे मुरदा मनख जीवाअया पातसाह ३ दलीरो भाडूरो अेमदाबाद रो रो ~~[illegible]~~ तीन ही मले अर चीतोड आ अया जठे चौडे राड करे फोज हे भगाये दीदी पातसाह ३नाही पकडे चीतोड ऊपरे बंदीखाने राख्या न म्हाराणा श्री सागाजी रा बडा भाई ऊडण प्रथीराज केवाणा ज्य बडा प्राक्रम कीया अर कुवरपेण ही देवलोक पधारया बरस२७ जीव्या जीरी खवासण रो बेटो वणवीर ज्य म्हाराणा श्री वीक्रमादीत जी रा मूडा आगे काम करतो सो वा ऊपरे चुके अर गादी बेठो सो बरस ७ चीतोड पे राज कीधो पछे म्हाराणा श्री उदेसीघ पाछो चीतोड लीधो अर वणवीर हे धरम दुवार काडया अर नव कोटी।

मारवाड रो धणी राव गागो चाकी कूतो अर आवेर रो कछवाहो प्रथीराज चाकी कूतो अर गुणवाणे गुवालेर राय सेण चंदेरी नागोर सीकी सुधी अमल कीयो कअर जमनाजी झाडो जाय परवास्या दलीरा पातसाह बबर षाहा बगतोजी थी जुध कीया खेत्र सीकी ऊठाती भागो सो पील्याखेल आवे परया बादवा दमामो न्ही बजाअया अर बरस १ पाछे जुध जीत्या अर पाग बाधी दमामो बजाया पातसाह पुरब दीरी नीसूया सो दीवाण जी पण लारा पदारया सो कालपी रा डेरा पातसाह हे तो बीख हुवो जद लोकीक ऊ कहेवा लागी सो श्री दीवाण जी समुद्र रा सुदी सीम करसी जद दीवाण जी हे पण बीच दीदो जी री असमाद हुई सो उठाथी पाछा पधारया राणी ११ खवासण २७ बेटा जीरी वीगत

१ मोज राज जी श्री मीरा बाई परणया कुवर पणे ही देवलोक पधारया

१ रतन सीघ

२ वीक्मा दीत जी

३ उदे सीघ जी

श्रार दान सख्यान= ---------- वटक न्हे थाये नही फरता मुरामण नही लुटाता थत्री सामे हात न्ही करता ग थागा उपर गाव नही गालता ने बहेंगाई सम्वत १५८२ पीठोलो फूटो सो पाछो बंधाया श्रार बल बरस २१ मास ५ दीन ० राज कीधो

म्हाराणा श्री रतन सीघजी धानबाई राठोड रा बेटा बाप वीत्रकोट सम्वत १५८५ राज बेठा सेना सख्या श्रसवार १०००० पाषेक ३०००० हस्ती ११०० बाजत्री ३०० राजा २१ राव २२ रावत ० सेता करता वीत्रकोट री कोट री पोलरा वमाड नही देवावता पो हुक्म करता मालवो माडव पाटण गढोजर गुजरात मारवाड दली ने वीत्रकोट री पोला है दान सख्या श्रारबल बुस ४ मास ५ दीन १ राज कीधो

म्हाराणा श्री वीक्मदीतजी करमेती बाई हाडी रा बेटा बाप वीत्रकोट ई. १५९० पाट बेठा श्रसवार पाषेक हसती बाजत्री राजा राव रावत सेता करता श्रारबल बुस ३।। मा. १ दी. ३ राज कीदो बणवीर करता मुडा पागे माजाद करतो सो चुक कराये श्राप गादी उपरे बेठो श्रर उदेसीघ जी बरस ५ रा हुआ सो घणे छाने काढया सो केलवाडे कुमलमेर मोटा हुवा श्रर श्रणी बरस १७ वीतीउ राज कीदो

म्हाराणा श्री उदेसीघ जी करमेती हाडी रा बेटा बाप कुमलमेर ज्यो वीत्रकोट था सो प्रथीराज जी री छतराणा रो बेटो वणवीर जणी उदेसीघ जी रा बडा भाई वीक्मादीत जी राज करता जणा उपरे चुक कीदो उमराव सारा मेला कोठारे रावत बादल जी मेला न्ही श्री दीवाणजी उपरे चुक करे श्रर उदेसीघ बरस ७ रा हा सो श्राणा हे बी मारजहे गयो जठे उदेसीघ जी री धारे ही सो वणी रात रा धोवा पा न्हे श्रापरा बेटा ने तो मरायो श्रर उदेसीघ जी हे लाखोटारी बारी रे गेले काढया सो कुमलमेर केलवाडे स्हा श्रालुजी देपरा हा त्यारा रावला न्हे बुस १७ सुधी राख्या जठा घडे रावत बादल जी सासरे था जठा थी श्री चुचमुज जी द्रसण करे केलवाडे श्राने स्हा श्रालुजी थी मले लिया ठेराई न्हे म्हाराणा श्री

ऊदेसीघ जी ने द्री खानो त्यार कराए गादी त्यार कराऐ अर दरीखाने पदराया अर जारात कीदा।

सं. १५९२ बे राज बेठा असवार २५००० पाऐक ३००० हस्ती १०० बाजत्री जालोर मे लगनी सागाई करे जान करे प्रणवाहे पदारया सो उठे प्रणे ऊठा थी फोज री जुडत करे अर पाछा पदारया सो चीतोड ही पदारवा रो गेलो कीधो अर ऊणि चीत्रकोट वणवीर रे बी फोज १००००१ एक लाख भेजी हुई सो कुच करे ने सामो आयो सो माहोली तीरे जगडो हुवो सो महाराणा श्री ऊदे सीघ जी री तो फते हुई अर वणवीर भागो सो पाछो चीत्रकोट जाऐ चडयो ने मेवाड रा सरदार ऊमराव हा सो रावत खादलजी री स्हा सू सारा आवे पगे लागा अर जठा कडे फोज रो कुच हुवो सो चीत्रकोट पदारया अर बणवीर हे तो सारा सरदारा भेला वे ध्रम दुवारे काडयो वणवीर रा पसरा मालवा म्हे नरबदा रे ढावे दक्षण रा काठ प्रे हे जी छोटा सीसोदया वाजे हे अर दीवाणजी चीत्रकोट पदारया पछे पातसहा अकबर फोज लेर चीत्रकोट प्रे आयो बरस १२ सुधी लडयो जठा कडे सं १९२४ साको हुवो चीतोड भागो जठे काम आया पताजी री माता १ बहुआ ९ बेटी ५ बेटा २ अर हुडावत पतोजी रावत साईदास जी राठोड जेमलजी मेहत्या ईसरदास जी डोडया साडाजी ओर ही सरदार काम आया बडो साको हुवो सं. १६२४ रा चेत बीद ११ र वे चीत्रकोट भागो सं. १६१६ ऊदेसागर बंदायो थो न सं. १६२४ रा चेत सुद ११ रे दीन ऊदेपुर बसायो आखल ब्रस ३६ मास २ दीन १ राज कीदो सं. १६२८ रा फागुण सुद १५ देवलोक पदारया बेटा २५

१ प्रताप सीघ जी गादी वीराज्या
२ सगत सीघ जी ज्यारा सगतावत
३ कान जी ज्यारा कानावत
४ जैत सीघ जी ज्यारा
५ वीरमदेजी लागव हमीरगढ आवा तेरावाद महुवो सणावाड मंडपो चोगाम्डी
६ राऐसीघ जी ज्यारा पगरा मालवे
७ जगमाल जी ज्यारा जावपुर
८ सगरजी ज्यारा ऊमरी मदोडी गुणेसगढ गडोली
९ अगरजी टोडा की डाबर अगरावत रा राणावत श्री सादया वाजे

परिशिष्ट ~~(ग)~~ EEE

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१० पचाणजी ज्यारा पंचायणपुर ऊलोरा खजुरी हाजीवास

११ सुजाणजी रे रेणवास

१२ लुणकरण जी गुणेसरी बालोर खेडो दादयो

१३ म्हेसदास जी ज्यारा टाटोल श्री जी कुवारा तीरे

१४ सीयाजी ज्वारा छापरेड

१५ सादुल जी ज्यारा गोडवाड म्हे साडेडा

१६ सन्दर सीघ जी ज्यारा सीरोई री धरती म्हे पीडवाडो सोगवास

१७ नगोजी ज्यारा मालवे रो गाम धावडया खाखदरो बेटा ८ रो नुलोगयो।

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*परिशिष्ट (एन)

(अकबर के मेवाड पर आक्रमण का वर्णन)

वले साह गढ चितोढ लीनी सु पलक ~~इक~~ इक्क में मार मेदान कीनी
किये साह आरंभ रण थंभ तोडयो कहु कोई मेवास छतपति न छोडयो

(दिल्ली राज्य वंशावली नं.२: निज संग्रह से)

इस पद्य का निम्नलिखित पाठभेद भी मिलता है:

वली साह गढ गढ चीतोड लीनी सु पलक एक में मारि कीनी।।९०।।
कीयो साहि आरंभ रण थंभ तोडयो कहुं कोई मावासु छत्रप्रत न छोरो
.....(९१)

(दिल्ली राजवंशावली नं.१: निज संग्रह से)

नोट:

उपरोक्त दोनो दिल्ली ~~राजवंशावलियो~~ राज्य वंशावलियो की प्रतिलिपि श्री अगर चन्द जी नाहटा के संग्रह से प्राप्त हुई हैं।